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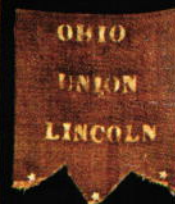
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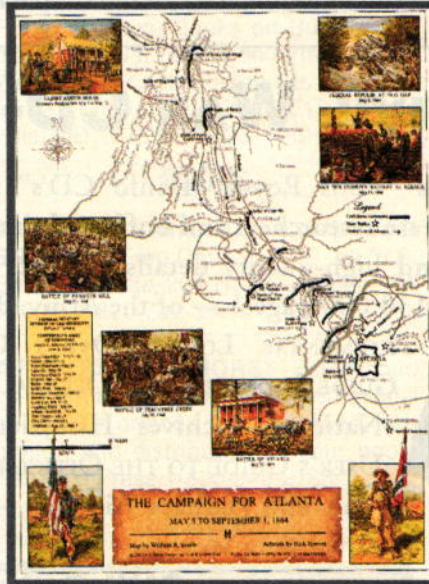
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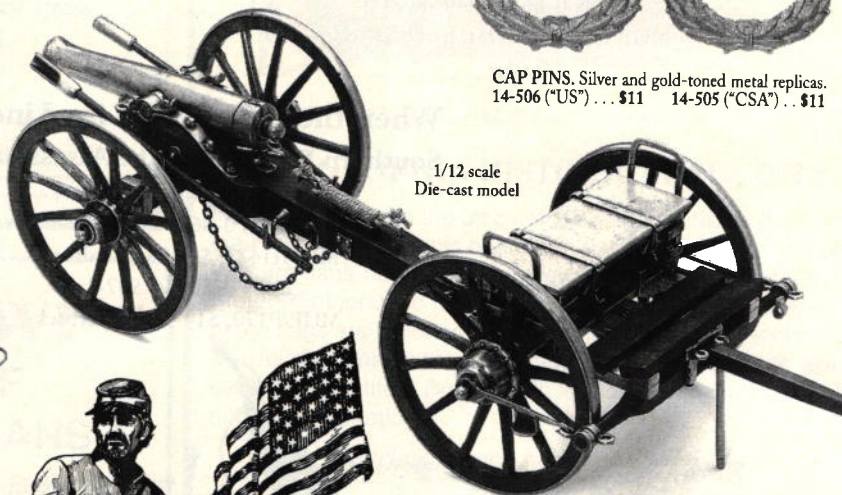
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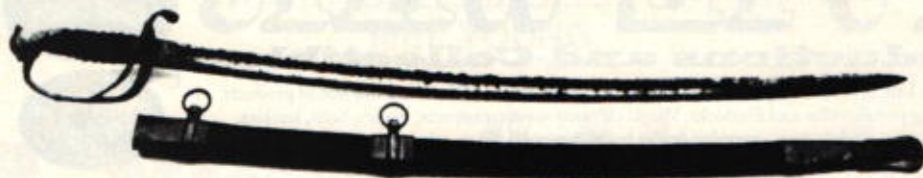
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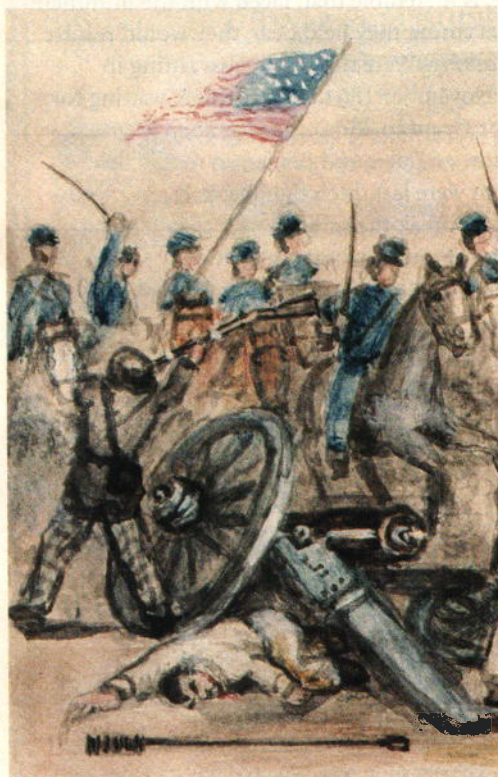
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Editorial

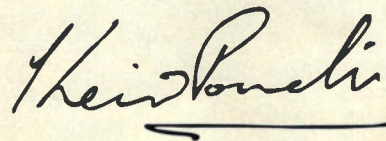
Ridiculous?

A RECENT CORRESPONDENT REFERRED TO “the ridiculous notion that Jefferson Davis ordered Lincoln’s death.” That suggestion is no longer ridiculous. Our lead article this issue lays out the evidence that the Confederate authorities instigated a number of plots to capture Abraham Lincoln, and at least one to kill him. It also establishes John Wilkes Booth’s intimate relations with the Confederate secret service, and the fact that, *after* the assassination, the infrastructure put in place to support the capture plan was used to aid Booth’s escape.

In any case, I have never found the argument convincing that Davis and Benjamin were “gentlemen” who would not stoop to assassination. They had a major responsibility for the deaths of six hundred thousand Americans. Can anyone seriously believe they would have caviled at two or three more? Undoubtedly, in believing that the removal of Lincoln would—by 1865—have made any difference to the outcome of the war, they were clutching at a not very substantial straw. But that is exactly what men in desperate straits do.

Furthermore, is it credible that, faced with the imminent destruction of everything they held dear, they would resolve *to do absolutely nothing*? Were they really just sitting in Richmond, from November 1864 to April 1865, waiting for springtime and for Grant to administer the *coup de grace*? Everything we know of Davis and Benjamin makes this unlikely: these men were last ditch fighters. Is it not more likely that, unable to break the military vice that gripped them, they planned at one blow to remove their nemesis and throw the Union leadership into chaos—to who knows what advantage?

We invite readers to consider the evidence and decide for themselves just who ordered Lincoln’s death.



A WINNER! The first correct answer opened to the Teaser question in *North & South* #4, was from Scott Williams of Salinas, California. Scott receives the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* CD, kindly donated by H-Bar Enterprises. The question was: When Maine papermaker Augustus Stanwood began to run out of raw materials for his mills, where was he able to find fresh supplies of pulp? The answer is: he imported Egyptian mummies!



Crossfire

Confederate Warships

I wish to comment on the section entitled "The Fleets," in "Al Nofi's Knapsack" section of your issue #4 of *North & South* magazine.

The writer states that the "...Confederacy seems to have commissioned nearly 175 warships of various types, including 14 ironclads." While the exact number of Confederate warships commissioned is difficult to determine, and 175 is probably a reasonable number, there were certainly more than 14 ironclads commissioned and put into service. In fact there were 23. They were:

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CSS Atlanta	CSS Baltic
CSS Charleston	CSS Chicora
CSS Columbia	CSS Fredericksburg
CSS Huntsville	CSS Louisiana
CSS Manassas	CSS Missouri
CSS Neuse	CSS North Carolina
CSS Palmetto State	CSS Raleigh
CSS Richmond	CSS Savannah
CSS Stonewall	CSS Tennessee
CSS Tuscaloosa	CSS Virginia
CSS Virginia II	

To gain a better appreciation of the achievements of the Confederacy in the building and procuring of naval vessels, it is useful to consider what I term "Confederate Naval Forces Afloat." While the figure of 175 commissioned warships refers only to those armed vessels within the borders of the Confederate States, there were hundreds of other ships that were government owned, some armed, some not. These included: transports and small tugs or tow boats which were generally unarmed, vessels operated by the army, state owned vessels, government owned blockade runners, the River Defense Fleet, Texas Marine Department, submarines and torpedo boats, and

the cruisers which were built or purchased overseas.

Paul H. Silverstone in *Warships of the Civil War Navies*, lists 478 Confederate vessels and the *Civil War Naval Chronology* compiled by the Naval History Division of the Navy Department, and utilizing data from *The Dictionary of American Fighting Ships*, vol. II, details over 500 ships of the Confederate naval forces. In addition, according to my research which was compiled for my book, *Fire and Thunder*, there were 51 vessels that were granted Letters of Marque to act as privateers. While these were not government owned, they were granted authority to act on behalf of their government.

Regardless of the numbers used, when the record of Southern naval forces is examined, one is amazed at just how much, indeed, was accomplished.

—R. Thomas Campbell
West Chester, Pennsylvania

Walter Bowie

I have enjoyed your first three issues and think that you will become a great asset to Civil War information dissemination. In issue #3 I was pleasantly surprised to see an article on Walter Bowie (*Appointment in Samara*). I found the article interesting, but found a minor error:

Walter Bowie did enlist at Manassas, Virginia on May 1, 1861, but it was in the Williams Rifles, Company F, 1st Virginia Infantry. Company F became 1st Company C in the 1st Virginia Artillery as of September, 1861.

He was buried at his boyhood home, "Locust Grove" which had been inherited by his father, 3-W Bowie, from his father. Sometime later, Walter Bowie and his parents were removed from the family burial grounds and carried across the street to Holy Trinity (Episcopal Church) of Collington, and reburied. Walter Bowie's grave was re-marked on June 29, 1997 and the ceremony was conducted by the Maryland Line, CSA, Sons of Confederate Veterans Camp #1741. A video tape of this ceremony may be had by writing to: Quarter Master Rick Imboden, The Maryland Line CSA, P.O. Box 1884, Upper Marlboro, MD 20773-1884.

—Paul C. Low
Riverdale, Maryland

James O. Hall responds: When I did basic Bowie research in National Archives some 20 years back, I found two identical

"carded" entries for his enlistment: one under Co. F, 1st Virginia Infantry, and another under Co. C, 1st Virginia Artillery. There was a great deal of confusion in the first few months of the war about unit designations as Confederate armies were being formed. After the war clerks in the Archive Office and in the Adjutant General's Office in Washington sought to unscramble the captured records of the Confederate War Department. On the whole they did a good job with what they had to work with.

In reconstructing my old notes, I find that Co. F, 1st Virginia Infantry, was redesignated as Co. C, 1st Virginia Artillery, resulting in two identical "carded" entries about Bowie's enlistment. For some reason I elected to use the "carded" entries showing he enlisted in the artillery company. Mr. Low is correct in writing that I should have elected to use the card for the infantry company, which came first. Even so, the information about Bowie's enlistment is the same on both cards, and the one unit is a redesignation of the other.

Bowie probably spent very little time in either the infantry company or the artillery company. One of my old notes refers to General James Longstreet's Special Orders No. 242 in which Bowie was out for 35 days in September and October 1861 on a duty for Longstreet. Bowie was paid for this on October 3, 1861, "commutation of rations." There are undoubtedly other such documents which did not survive, or which I did not find. Bowie was evidently put to intelligence gathering and other clandestine duties at an early date.

The old Bowie family cemetery was located on "Willow Grove" and not "Locust Grove" as Mr. Low has it.

Sherman's Cavalry

It is unfortunate that in an otherwise fine article describing the fiasco of General George Stoneman's raid around Atlanta (*North & South* #2, January 1998) that author William Scaife leaves the impression that General Sherman had no confidence in his cavalry and, further, that they were somehow inferior to the Confederate cavalry under Wheeler. This is decidedly not true on both counts. Sherman had plenty of confidence in his cavalry, it was the leadership that he doubted, especially Stoneman and Kenner Garrard. On field after field—Stone's River, Guy's Gap, Reed's Bridge (Chickamauga), McMinnville, Sweedan's Cove, Wheeler's Raid through Middle Tennessee (Fall 1863)—the Federal

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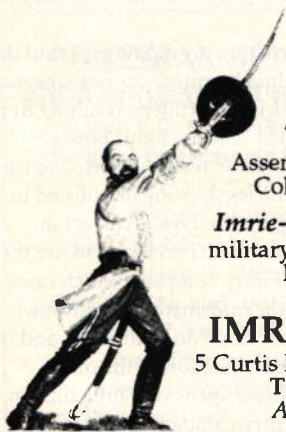
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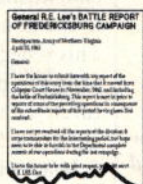
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cavalryman showed he was every bit the equal of the Confederate cavalryman. Moreover, Scaife says that the lack of a major mounted raid before late July 1864 shows this lack of confidence when, in fact, Sherman often relied on his mounted arm to protect his flanks in the Atlanta campaign and flank Joe Johnston in territory that was otherwise very unsuited to cavalry operations. In the letter to Halleck that Scaife quotes, Sherman himself regrets letting Stoneman go and committing such an error "as that of dividing and risking my cavalry so necessary to the success of my campaign." (Italics mine.) Again, in his official report, Sherman restates his confidence in the cavalry, "I estimated this joint cavalry could whip all of Wheeler's cavalry, and could otherwise accomplish its task, and I think so still."

It was not until Sherman had invested Atlanta that there was any need for a mounted raid. In fact, the terrain of north Georgia was decidedly against it. Sherman was also not certain that cavalry was suited for breaking the railroad, which was now what he needed done to force Hood out of Atlanta. This does not imply a lack of confidence in the cavalry and their usual mission of reconnaissance, protecting the flank, etc., but an uncertainty about whether they were suitable for that specific mission. As it turned out, the cavalry was not able to make a long term break in the railroad, necessitating the final movement around Atlanta to Jonesboro by the infantry.

Finally, while it is nice to list the MOLLUS sources, I am surprised that Mr. Scaife didn't include David Evans' *Sherman's Horsemen* (Indiana University Press, 1996), which does an excellent job of detailing the cavalry's role in the Atlanta campaign.

—Laurence D. Schiller
Department of History,
Northwestern University

Bill Scaife Responds: Schiller's letter essentially addresses two points. No. 1, he contends that Sherman lacked confidence not in his cavalry but in their commanders, and No. 2, he contends Federal cavalry were not inferior to Wheeler's Confederate cavalry during the Atlanta Campaign.

The distinction he draws in the first case is strictly an academic one, since from a practical standpoint, Sherman could no more send his horsemen into action without commanders than he could send his cavalry commanders into action without horsemen, and a lack of confidence in either would most certainly impair his confidence in the entire mounted arm.

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On the second count, Wheeler overwhelmingly defeated both McCook and Stoneman in battle, inflicted casualties of well over 50 percent, captured Stoneman, and all but eliminated Sherman's cavalry as an effective fighting force. Such a decisive victory would certainly seem to indicate some degree of military superiority on Wheeler's part. And Sherman certainly seemed to agree when after the war he recommended to the War Department that in the event the United States went to war with a foreign power, Joe Wheeler should be named to command the cavalry.

I certainly respect Schiller's opinions on these two points and I doubt many readers are terribly concerned at our disagreement on such subjective matters.

But in stating his case, he asserts, "It was not until Sherman had invested Atlanta that there was any need for a mounted raid. In fact the terrain was decidedly against it." Since this assertion might well mislead readers regarding the tactical and strategic situation during the Atlanta Campaign, as well the terrain in North Georgia and the investment of Atlanta, I believe the readers of *North & South* deserve a response.

In Sherman's words, "Neither Atlanta, nor Augusta nor Savannah was the objective

of the campaign, but the Army of Joe Johnston, go where it might." A campaign of maneuver resulted as Sherman repeatedly attempted to cut Johnston's communications and force him to fight the decisive battle of the campaign as far north as possible, while Sherman's supply lines were still short—but Johnston repeatedly slipped away and avoided a major engagement in which his smaller army might be destroyed. An effective cavalry strike in Johnston's rear might have broken his communications and forced him to turn and fight the decisive battle, which Sherman was unable to provoke with infantry alone. The terrain between the Oostanaula and the Etowah Rivers covered over a third of the distance over which Sherman's army advanced from Rocky Face Ridge to Atlanta and was for the most part gently rolling and cultivated farmland—ideally suited for cavalry operations, rather than "decidedly against it," as Schiller asserts.

The Stoneman-McCook raid did not occur following the investment of Atlanta—as Schiller asserts—but began in late July, in conjunction with Oliver Howard's circuit to the west and south of the city. Investment of the city did not occur until over a month later.

Thumbs Up!

I find that when I open the mail and see that the *North & South* has arrived, I know where my time will be spent.....reading the new issue. Keep up the good work. Your in-depth articles are specifically what I'm looking for. In comparison to the articles in many other Civil War publications, you take the time to give greater depth and coverage to the subject, while many of your competitors give a broad brush approach or just scratch the surface, leaving me hungry for more.

I just received issue number #5 and I thoroughly enjoyed it. The article by Paddy Griffith and the *Myth of the Rifle Revolution* is an excellent article.

—Edmund S. Coale, III
Highland, Maryland

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This note is to tell you what a wonderful magazine you publish. I'm positive that with time you will whip the Union suits off of CWTI.

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—Rod Huffman
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Do You Know?

1. Excluding General Richard B. Garnett's brigade, Pickett's division, which brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia had the highest number of field officer casualties during the Gettysburg Campaign (June 9 - July 14, 1863)?
2. Who was Abraham Lincoln's first vice-president?
3. What was the site of the first Confederate capital?
4. The "Battle Above the Clouds" was the popular name for which battle?
5. What Union cavalry regiment was known as the Butterflies?
6. Which famous Confederate cavalry leader commanded the Cavalry Division during the Cuban Campaign of 1898?

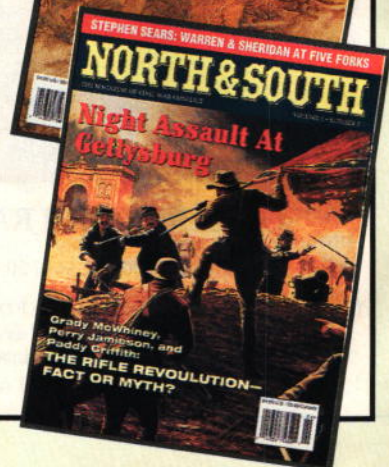
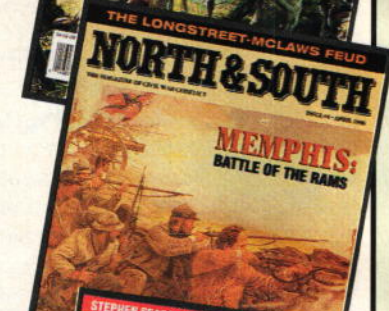
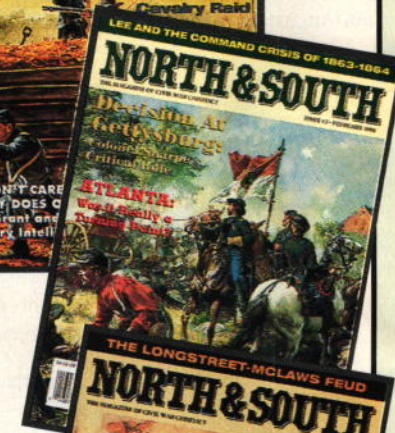
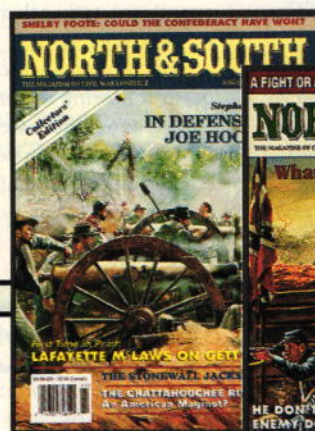
TEASER:

In which federal arsenal did an explosion occur on the same day as the Battle of Antietam?

THE ANSWERS to questions 1-6 will be found on page 41. If you know the answer to the teaser question, send it in writing to the editorial address below. The author of the correct answer drawn from the *N&S* hat will receive a free copy of *The Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* papers on CD. This prize is kindly donated by H-Bar Enterprises, whose advertisements appear elsewhere in this issue.

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"How About A Chaw?"

In a tobacco addicted age, David Glasgow Farragut, the nation's first admiral, was remarkable for his lack of indulgence in nicotine. Asked on one occasion why he had never acquired the habit, he made an interesting reply.

As was the custom of the time, Farragut had first gone to sea as a midshipman at the age of 10—youngest ever. Trying hard to seem already a man, he took up chewing tobacco (sailors chewed more often than they smoked, given the ever-present danger of fire aboard ship). One night he was standing watch with a jaw full of tobacco when the ship's captain chanced to take a turn around the deck. Seeing the skipper (his foster-father, David Porter, sire of the nation's second admiral, David Dixon Porter), Farragut sprang to attention, rendering a salute. As he did, a dribble of tobacco juice trickled from the corner of his mouth.

"Swallow it," ordered the captain, and then turned to continue his stroll.

Farragut never touched tobacco again.

"What Would You Do?"

On May 14, 1864, as William T. Sherman's army lay near Resaca, Georgia, the 24th Wisconsin was acting as skirmishers during a divisional reconnaissance. The regiment ran into what one officer called "galling fire" from Confederate outposts, and Colonel Theodore S. West was seriously wounded in the

foot and had to be evacuated. Command of the regiment thereupon devolved upon the next senior officer, Major Arthur MacArthur. A tough, intelligent officer, since joining the army in 1862, MacArthur had risen from second lieutenant to major as a result of hard fighting and good luck. MacArthur calmly held his men to their work until, their ammunition expended, he withdrew them in good order. Pulling back to some favorable terrain, he had them erect entrenchments and clear fields of fire before bedding them down for the night.

MacArthur was liked by his men and well regarded by his brigade commander, but some more senior officers in the army had their doubts about him. This is perhaps understandable, given that MacArthur was only eighteen at the time. So on the evening of the fourteenth, Brigadier General John Newton sent one of his aides, a 1st Lieutenant Sutherland, to check on the young warrior.

Sutherland encountered MacArthur near his defenses, speaking about the day's events with one of his company commanders. The three talked for a while, looking across to the Confederate lines, barely a mile away. Quite suddenly, Sutherland asked, "Major, suppose the Rebs down there should make a charge and attempt to capture this position? What would you do?"

"Fight like hell!" came the quick response.

MacArthur kept his regiment, emerging from the war as a lieutenant colonel. Remaining in the army afterwards, he eventually retired as a lieutenant general, in the meanwhile siring a son who also attained some distinction as a soldier.

"You Mean the Yankees Aren't Coming?"

In its infinite wisdom, in the Spring of 1898, the U.S. Army, fearful lest the presence of so many blue-coated Yankees might offend the often unreconstructed citizens of the capital of the *soi disant* Confederate States of America, routed trains carrying the 71st New York Volunteers to Florida *around* Richmond. This, as it turned out, offended the residents even more, for this time they had been looking forward to the arrival of the Yankees. Indeed, they had prepared an even warmer reception for the bluecoats than they had a generation earlier, expending a considerable amount of energy in the process. In the words of one soldier, they had been "piling up mountains of sandwiches, frying chickens by the flock, squeezing lemons, stirring sugar—all this following an afternoon of frenzied baking of hams, sweet potato pies and cakes, and ironing of frocks and frills for the reception committee."

PROFILE:

Paying the Troops

Patriotic as they might have been, nevertheless, whether they were boys in blue or boys in gray, the troops did like to get paid, at least occasionally. The Union, of course, entered the war with well-established pay and emolument regulations for both officers and men, but gave the troops a raise anyway. The Confederacy quickly created its own pay and emolument scales in the spring of 1861. As with most Confederate military practice, this was more or less freely based on existing Federal regulations.

***"There can be no peace
but that which is enforced by the sword."***

—Henry W. Halleck

MONTHLY ARMY, 1861		
<i>Rank</i>	<i>Confederate</i>	<i>Union</i>
Private	\$ 11.00	\$ 13.00
Corporal	13.00	13.00
Sergeant	17.00	17.00
1st Sergeant	20.00	20.00
QM Sergeant	21.00	21.00
Sgt. Major	21.00	21.00
2nd Lieutenant	80.00	105.50
1st Lieutenant	90.00	105.50
Captain	130.00	115.50
Major	150.00	169.00
Lt. Colonel	170.00	181.00
Colonel	195.00	212.00
Brig. General	301.00	315.00
Maj. General	301.00	457.00
Lt. General	301.00	758.00 *
General	301.00	

* Added in 1864

For both armies figures are for the infantry and artillerymen. Enlisted men in the other branches received a few dollars more and officers an additional \$10.00 to \$15.00 a month. In the Union Army, black enlisted men, regardless of rank, were paid only \$10.00 a month for most of the war, of which \$3.00 was deducted for clothing allowance, an inequity which was not abolished until September of 1864; by that time the famed 54th Massachusetts, which had refused to accept pay until granted equality, was owed \$170,000.

In both armies, officers received benefits such as additional ration and fuel allowances, usually commutated in cash, and allowances for a horse if their duties required one. So a Union first lieutenant actually received more than a second lieutenant, despite having the same base pay. A Union infantry colonel received the cash value of six human and three horse rations each day, which amounted to \$78.00 a month. These moneys were permitted him to support a couple of horses and a servant.

The figures for Confederate generals require some explanation. Under army regulations adopted in March, 1861, there was only one grade of officer above the rank of colonel in the Regular Army of the Confederate States, "general." The other grades—brigadier general, major general, and lieutenant general—only existed in the volunteer army, designated the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. As a result, all generals received the same base pay (this was also the reason why all Confederate generals wore the same collar badges, regardless of actual rank). However, additional compensation was provided to generals depending upon their commands. Thus, regardless of rank, a general received an extra \$100.00 a month while commanding an army in the field, plus other cash payments in lieu of additional rations, fodder, and fuel, plus a quarters allowance, and seniority pay (\$9.00 a month for each five years of active duty, including service in the U.S. Army). As a result, in mid-1864, Robert E. Lee was drawing at least \$604.00 a month.

and a horse, unless they were black, in which case they were treated as enlisted men and subject to the same fiscal inequities as other black troops. In both armies, medical officers were paid according to their respective ranks (junior assistant surgeons ranked as first lieutenants, assistant surgeons as captains, surgeons as majors, and chief surgeons as lieutenant colonels). Union Army hospital stewards received \$30.00 a month and women nurses about \$12.00.

Both sides eventually gave the troops a raise. In June, 1864, Confederate enlisted men were given an additional \$7.00, though by then the Confederate paper dollar had declined to the point that the \$18—even if the troops saw it—was worth only about a dollar in gold. That same month the Union gave its enlisted men \$3.00 a month more, bringing their pay to \$16, though Uncle Sam's greenbacks were actually worth only about \$5.00 or \$6.00 in gold.

In both armies, the troops were supposed to be paid every two months,

ROBERT E. LEE'S PAY STUB *

<i>Item</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Base Pay	\$301.00	
Commander's Allowance	100.00	As an army commander
Fodder Allowance	32.00	4 horse rations a day
Ration Allowance	108.00	12 rations a day
Seniority Pay	63.00	
Total:	604.00	

* Excludes quarters and fuel allowance.

In May of 1861, the Confederacy set the pay for chaplains at \$85.00 a month, but reduced it to \$50.00 two weeks later. That autumn, chaplains were permitted to draw rations. The following April, their pay was raised to \$80.00, at which it remained. Union chaplains got a much better deal, being treated as officers and getting \$100.00 a month, plus rations for themselves

but pay was often in arrears, even in the Union Army. And thereby hangs a tale. It seems that a Union army paymaster once sought to meet the president. Knowing that nearly everyone who met Lincoln usually offered some unwanted advice, upon being introduced the paymaster merely shook the president's hand, saying "I have no business with you, Mr. President, I only called to pay

my compliments." To which Lincoln is said to have replied, "I understand, and from the complaints of the soldiers, I think that is all you do pay."

Despite published "Cost of Living Index" figures, a direct conversion of 1861 dollar values into money of 1998 is impossible. Increased industrialization has greatly reduced prices relative to earnings, and there has been a contingent considerable increase in the quantity, quality, and character of the goods and services available. So, while on paper an 1861 dollar is worth about fifteen in 1998, in fact the actual figure cannot be determined. Consider that in 1861 a good pair of shoes ran about \$2.00, while a semi-skilled workman was doing well if he earned a dollar for a ten-to-twelve hour day. The work week was usually 55 to 65 hours, so such a man's monthly income was about \$30.00. An income of \$300.00 a year was considered pretty good, but few workers actually earned that much since employment was usually seasonal and job security non-existent. On this basis, a Union private's \$156.00 a year was competitive with civilian wages, given that the soldier's rations, clothing, and quarters were at least partially provided for. Nev-

ertheless, this was insufficient to support a family, and there was considerable suffering among soldiers' dependents as a result. In contrast, the pay of an officer was extraordinary. A Union lieutenant pulled in over eight times what a private did, and a major general over 35 times: the comparable figures today are closer to 2:1 and 6:1.

A very rough idea of comparable dollar value in money of 1998 can be obtained by multiplying Civil War figures by 35. This yields some interesting results. On this basis a Civil War private's monthly pay amounts to \$455.00, much lower than what the Armed Forces are currently paying, even after taxes. In contrast, on this basis Lee was pulling down the equivalent of over \$21,000.00 a month and Grant \$26,530.00, much more than modern officers of their rank are making, even before taxes

BIOFILE

"Old Jube" – Jubal A. Early

Born in Virginia, Jubal A. Early (1816-1894) entered West Point in 1833. He proved an unruly cadet, often getting into trouble. Indeed, in 1836, Lewis A. Armistead was expelled from the academy for breaking a dinner plate over

Early's head during an argument in the mess hall. However, Early did well enough to graduate in 1837, standing 18th in a class of 50: 17 of his classmates would become generals, among them Confederate generals Braxton Bragg and John Pemberton, and Union generals William H. French, John Sedgewick, and Joseph Hooker, as did two of the class dropouts, including Armistead, who died leading the forlorn hope over the wall at "The Angle" on July 3, 1863.

Early was commissioned in the artillery. However, after a tour of duty in Florida against the Seminoles, he resigned from the army. Returning to Virginia, he read law. Early did well at law, and began engaging in state politics with considerable success, becoming a member of the House of Delegates and commonwealth's attorney. He served as a major of Virginia volunteers in the Mexican War. In 1861, Early was a delegate to the Virginia secession convention, at which he voted against secession. Nevertheless, he became an ardent Confederate, entering the army as colonel of the 24th Virginia.

Early commanded a brigade under P.G.T. Beauregard during the Bull Run Campaign and was promoted brigadier general shortly thereafter. He led his brigade during the opening phases of the Peninsular Campaign in 1862, until wounded. He returned to duty in time to command a brigade in the Second Manassas Campaign. Early was given a division during the Maryland Campaign, which he led at Fredericksburg. Promoted major general in January of 1863, he led his division in the Second Corps during the Gettysburg Campaign.

On the first day of the Battle of Gettysburg, Early's division played an important role in the devastating flank attack which unhinged the Union position north and west of Gettysburg. However, at a commanders' conference that night, Early helped convince Robert E. Lee that a major attack on the Union right was likely to be unprofitable. The next day, July 2, Early advised Richard Ewell to delay his attack on Culp's Hill, originally to have been simultaneous with James Longstreet's First Corps attack in the south, permitting Army of the Potomac commander George G. Meade to shift

FROM THE GRAPEVINE

- Of 19 Catawba Indians, virtually the entire able-bodied manpower of the tribe, who served in the Confederate Army—mostly in the 12th North Carolina—only three returned home alive and "whole in body," the rest having perished or been disabled fighting from Second Bull Run through Petersburg.
- One day, finding the entire Cabinet opposed to a proposal which he had made, Lincoln smiled and said "The measure passes by a majority of one."
- Joseph E. Johnston, who later became a full general in the Confederate Army, was wounded a remarkable five times during the War with Mexico, roughly once for every time he was under fire.
- Captured at Plymouth, North Carolina, on April 20, 1864, the 85th New York lost 222 men in Confederate prisoner-of-war camps.
- When a brave Texan rode out between the lines to retrieve a fallen flag at Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861) the men of the Union 1st Iowa held their fire, calling out to the troops on either side to likewise honor a gallant foe.
- The U.S. Army's principal horse hospital, rest home, and recruit depot, in Washington processed some 170,000 cavalry mounts and 12,000 artillery horses in the course of the war.
- A badly chafed heel forced Confederate Major General James Longstreet to fight the Battle of Antietam wearing a pair of "clumsy carpet slippers."
- Hearing an indignant Southern woman complain that her chickens had been stolen by some of his soldiers, one Union general replied, "Madam, we are going to put down this rebellion if it takes every chicken in Tennessee."

forces to stem Longstreet's devastating assault. When the belated attack did occur, Early performed poorly, though he attempted to shift much of the blame for the failure of the attack on to others, notably Major General Robert E. Rhodes, commander of one of the other divisions in the corps.

At Spotsylvania in May of 1864, Early assumed command of the Second Corps and was soon promoted to lieutenant general. Remaining with the corps, he commanded it at Cold Harbor. On June 13, Early took the corps on his famous "raid" down the Shenandoah Valley and into Maryland, with the intention of putting pressure on Washington in the hope of causing Union troops to be pulled away from Richmond. He achieved some success in this venture, but allowed Union Major General Lew Wallace with about six thousand green troops to delay his fourteen thousand veterans for most of July 9, at Monocacy. As a result, strong reinforcements reached Washington. All Early's troops could do when they arrived before the city was skirmish with

Union outposts on the eleventh and twelfth before falling back. Although he essayed a second "raid" northwards in August, it was much less successful as a strategic diversion, though Early's troops did plunder and burn along a broad front, spreading devastation as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Early remained in the Shenandoah Valley for the balance of 1864, achieving some success against initial Union efforts to eject him. However, Major General Philip Sheridan trounced him at Cedar Creek on October 19, and his command was dispersed by Brigadier General G.A. Custer early in 1865. During this campaign, Early's performance was so poor that he was relieved of command of the Second Corps, and he thus has the dubious distinction of being the highest ranking officer Lee ever sacked for ineptitude. Early spent the remaining weeks of the war inactively.

After the war, Early fled to Mexico, thinking to take service with the forces of the Emperor Maximilian, but then he went to Canada. He eventually returned to Virginia, where he resumed his law

practice and became involved in the corrupt Louisiana Lottery. Early, a founder and first president of the Southern History Society, wrote a number self-serving books on the war and engaged in a rather successful campaign to place all blame for the Confederate reverse at Gettysburg—and, indeed, for the loss of the war—on Longstreet. A confirmed bachelor, Early was a notorious misogynist, yet managed to have at least four children out of wedlock with a woman named Julia McNealey:

- Joseph Emerson, born June 20, 1850
- Florence Annie, born 1858
- Robert, born 1860
- Jubal L., born 1864

Oral tradition also has it that he fathered five children by one of his slave women, named Rachel. There is, however, no documentary evidence to back this up.

Early remained an ardent Rebel until his death. Nicknamed "Old Jube" and "Jubilee", Early was a fairly good division commander, but, being stubborn and disloyal, he lacked the ability to be a really successful corps commander. □

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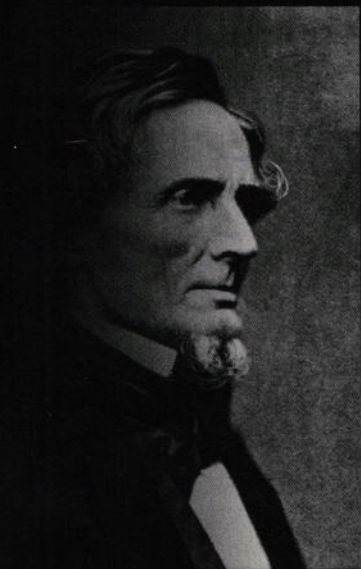
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Allegedly, the first scheme to capture Lincoln was turned down by Jefferson Davis.

James E. T. Lange and Katherine DeWitt, Jr.

James E. T. Lange is a lawyer/historian and Katherine DeWitt is a scientist/historian. They have published and lectured on the Lincoln assassination, serial murder, and famous crimes. Their book, *Chappaquiddick: The Real Story* was published by St. Martins Press in 1993. They are working on a book about the Lincoln assassination.

*Above: Jefferson Davis
The note opposite was found in the fly leaf of a book near General Early's headquarters at Blair House, Silver Spring, Maryland*

TEN YEARS AGO, *Come Retribution*, a work by William A. Tidwell, with James O. Hall and David Winfred Gaddy, burst onto the Civil War history scene. The authors examined the movements of the Confederate military and the structure of the Confederate intelligence organizations and came to the conclusion that the Confederate government supported the attempt to capture Abraham Lincoln. Further, they argued that the infrastructure put in place for the capture of the President was subsequently used to aid the escaping assassin.

The authors created the first work to give a detailed explanation of the Confederate intelligence network from its beginning, almost before the creation of the Confederate government itself, until its end with the collapse of the government-on-the-run. The words "Come Retribution" were the keywords for a cipher used in late 1864 and early 1865 and gave the authors their title.

In the ten years since the publication of *Come Retribution*, two of the authors and a number of other researchers have found even more evidence to support the theories in the book. Some of James O. Hall's discoveries have been published in *Surratt Courier*, the journal of the Surratt Society. William A. Tidwell followed the money trail in April '65. Edward Steers, Jr. published his findings about another conspirator in, *His Name Is Still Mudd*. Betty J. Ownsbey published a plethora of information on the shadowy Lewis Thornton Powell, who went to his death as Lewis Paine, in *Alias "Paine."* The present authors have brought to light much of the legal history of the various trials, sentences, and pardons; and the *habeas corpus* and motions filed for and about the motley collection of defendants and conspirators. So much has been discovered about the Lincoln capture-cum-assassination plots that an entirely new picture of who did what to whom with whose leadership and at whose direction has emerged.

Even before Virginia seceded from the Union, Governor John Letcher of Virginia recognized that there was a need for intelligence and irregular warfare if a future government of confederated states was to succeed. He acted on his own to establish two organizations for the gathering of information and disruption of enemy operations.

The first purpose was served by Rose Greenhow. This lady was a Washington so-

cialite who knew everyone, Northern and Southern. Letcher had been a member of the Congress of the United States until 1859, just before he became governor of Virginia. He knew that Mrs. Greenhow was an avid anti-abolitionist. She entertained everyone, listened to what they said, and reported. She was made responsible for gathering intelligence and sending it south. Unfortunately, she was a braggart, she talked too much, and she was arrested August 23, 1861. In any case, her reports consisted largely of rumor and were generally highly inaccurate.

The second purpose was carried out by the gloriously named Maryland Guerilla Zouaves. Colonel Richard Henry Thomas, who renamed himself Zarvona when he fought with Garibaldi in the Italian civil war, recruited this force of Marylanders and took them to Tappahannock, Virginia, on the Rappahannock River, to fight for Virginia. When they first arrived, the military mind was so rigid that the Confederates didn't really want them on board. The organization of the armies was to be by state and then by county within the state. Maryland had not seceded and was not part of the Confederacy, therefore there was no neat square hole to put a neat square peg into. The Virginians, knowing they could not pass up offered help, provided a way. The loose Marylanders were enfolded into the Maryland and Essex Virginia Volunteers, as if Maryland were another county of Virginia. The Marylanders chafed under the designation, and even though they were technically part of a Virginia regiment, they operated separately.

Governor Letcher quickly got a bill through the Virginia legislature authorizing the organization of irregular forces known as "rangers." The state then provided arms, money, a couple of acting ship masters, and orders to interrupt shipping on the Chesapeake Bay. On June 28, 1861, the famous "French Lady Affair" took place. Zarvona disguised himself as a woman and boarded the *St. Nicholas* at Baltimore. His men boarded at various ports until they were at full strength. When the ship reached the mouth of the Potomac, the men rose up and took over the ship. They used it to capture all the Union shipping they could find, but failed to find a Union gunboat, their original objective. In late 1861, Zarvona was arrested and thrown into prison; his men then became part of the 47th Virginia Infantry Regiment.

WHO ORDERED LINCOLN'S DEATH?



*Near Washington
July 12, 1864*

Now Uncle Abe, you had better be quiet the balance of your Administration, as we came near your town this time to show you what we could do. But if you go on in your mad career, we will come again soon, and then you had better stand from under.

*Yours Respectfully,
the worst rebel you ever saw,
Fifty-eighth Virginia Infantry*

BY 1862, THE REGULAR CONFEDERATE MILITARY

had just about ended the rangers and irregulars, considering that most guerrilla bands became "a band of robbers." The only band that survived as partisan rangers was run by John Singleton Mosby, whom General Robert E. Lee liked and respected and whose worth he appreciated. Even Mosby's Rangers had a line designation of 43rd Battalion, Virginia Cavalry.

Mosby's Rangers were, on paper, an eight-company battalion, though they never mustered more than three hundred men at any one time. They were heavily armed, many of the men having up to four pistols, a carbine, and a knife. Mosby ordered his men to throw their sabers away as being useless junk for a horseman. They lived off the land, slept where they found hospitality, and had a reputation for spreading terror in Union camps. The local population loved them and gave them all the help they could. The Rangers operated across Northern Virginia, in Union-held territory and behind enemy lines. Mosby's main form of discipline was to send a miscreant back to the regular army. Mosby also liked infernal machines, such as "percussion torpedoes;" he preferred modern weapons for their efficiency. Mosby's Rangers also assisted various intelligence operations throughout the war.

The South was quicker off the mark in centralizing both its offensive intelligence and defensive counterintelligence operations. The North's operations, by contrast, were run by individual commanders until the founding of the Bureau of Military Information.¹ The first thing the South organized better than the North was the Signal Bureau. Shortly before the war,

Albert James Myer had resuscitated an old form of battlefield communication in the use of "wig-wag," or a coded way of waving a signal flag, in effect a form of Morse code. At night, a torch served. Myer offered it to the United States military, but it was not put to use before the outbreak of war. Meanwhile, a student of Myer, Edward Porter Alexander of Georgia, had brought it to the attention of the Confederate Army. They loved it, and assigned him to run the training and implementation of the system. Thus was born the Confederate Signal Bureau.

When the war really got going, Alexander, a West Point graduate, moved into artillery and left the Signal Bureau. His successor was William Norris, a Marylander, a Yale man, a lawyer, and a former naval judge advocate. Norris conceived of adding intelligence functions to the Signal Bureau. He and Governor Letcher proposed to Secretary of War James A. Seddon in September of 1862 that the Bureau run agents and couriers, establishing communications with Washington and Baltimore and all the way to Quebec. This proposal was approved within two days. The communications system thus established was known as "The Secret Line," a code name which actually covered a number of different routes. Individuals involved in the operation of the Secret Line were officially attached to the Signal Corps. The Line was so efficient that newspapers printed in New York were on desks in Richmond within 24 hours. A message could be sent from Washington to Richmond and arrive in less than a day; a reply was just as fast. Unbeknown to the Confederate spymasters, their Union counterparts were aware of the Secret Line and often used it for their own purposes, allowing the line to operate with very little hindrance for the entire war.

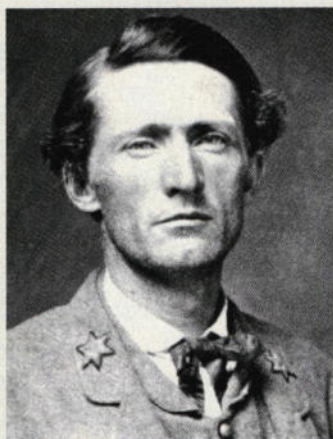
The line was manned by both military personnel and civilian volunteers. From Washington, the line led south to Surrattsville, where it diverged into three routes to the Maryland shore of the Potomac. The three departure points along the Potomac reconverged into two landing sites on the Virginia side, creating two routes which converged at the ferry across the Rappahannock River near Port Royal, Virginia. Almost everyone who lived in southern Maryland was part of the line or knew about it and kept quiet.

The Confederate government also had War Department and State Department Secret Services, though the Union did not. Both were run "out of the back pockets" of the relevant cabinet secretary. Most of the records of both units were destroyed, and all we know about them is that they occasionally indented for money. Judah Benjamin, who served very briefly as Secretary of War and spent most of the war as Secretary of State, carefully burned all of his records before Richmond was evacuated.

Some records survive, however, of another institution—the Confederate Torpedo Bureau. Brigadier General Gabriel Rains commanded this fluid group of inventors, technicians, geniuses, madmen, and other creative types. They experimented with such things as the explosion of weapons by electricity; "torpedoes" which we now call sea mines; "subterra" shells, which we now call land mines, and which a movement is currently trying to outlaw; bombs disguised as lumps of coal

Mosby's
Rangers
lived off the
land, and had a
reputation for
spreading terror
in Union camps.

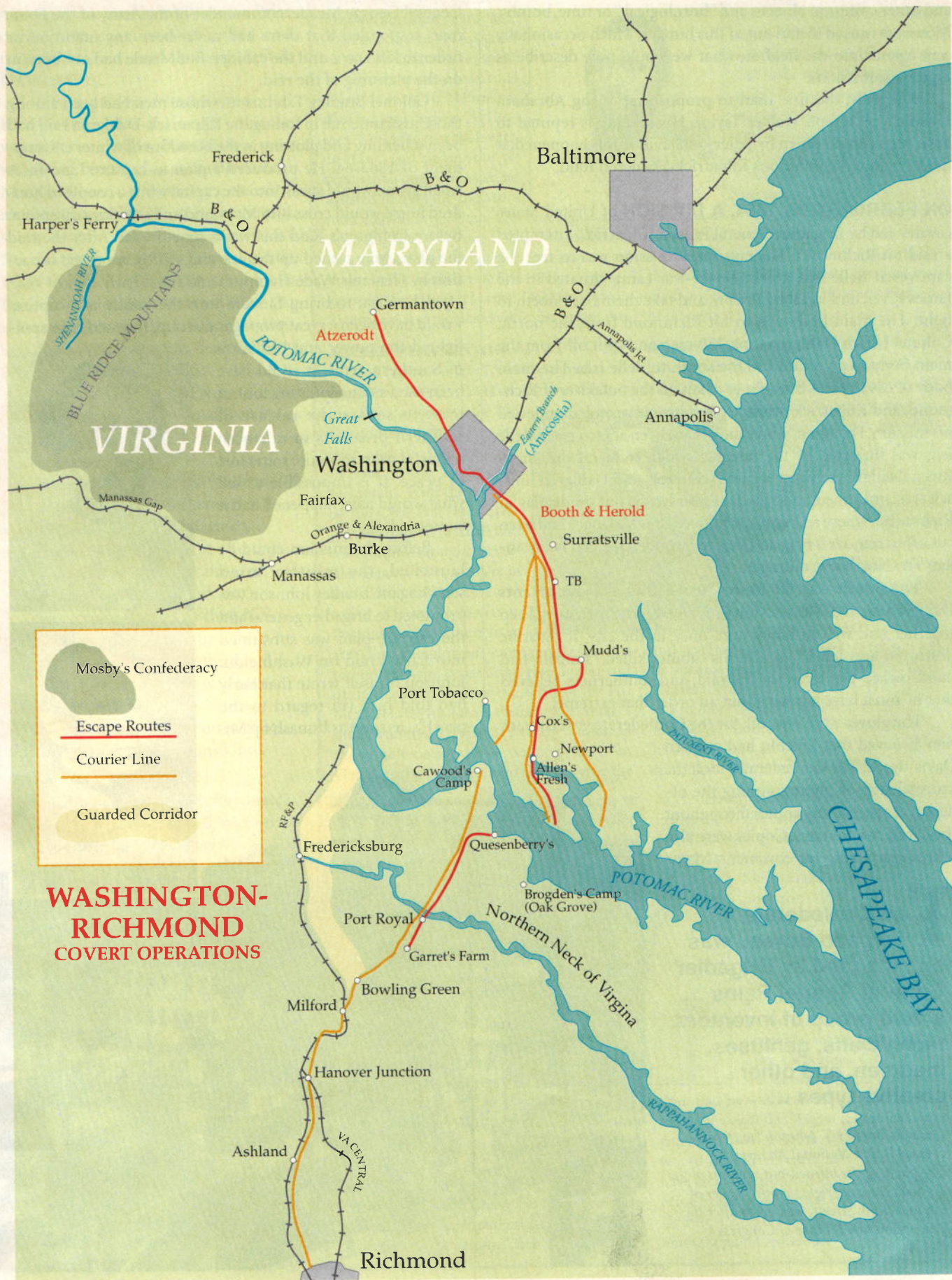
John Singleton Mosby
Library of Congress



Judah Benjamin
carefully burned
all of his records
before Richmond
was evacuated.

Judah Benjamin
Library of Congress





and other common objects; and “horological,” or time, bombs. Men were moved in and out of this bureau, which occasionally sent agents into the field on what we would now describe as espionage missions.

Allegedly, the first man to propose capturing Abraham Lincoln was Joseph Walker Taylor. His scheme is reputed to have been turned down by Jefferson Davis. If this happened, it did so before the infamous Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Raid.

ON FEBRUARY 28, 1864, A DIVISION of United States cavalry, led by Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick, attempted a raid on Richmond. Their primary mission was to free the captives at Belle Isle, a prisoner-of-war camp situated in the James River, and in Libby Prison, and take them back north to fight. The main body was to hit Richmond from the north. Colonel Ulrich Dahlgren took 450 men and split off from the main body to go around to the south to Belle Isle. The main body of cavalry was brought to a halt on the outskirts of Richmond, and Kilpatrick promptly lost his nerve and abandoned his mission. Dahlgren, who should have been able to reach Belle Isle, was thwarted by the unusually high water of the James River. Dahlgren’s group became scattered, and Dahlgren himself was ambushed and killed. His body was put on display in Richmond, where a Union spy noticed that his finger had been cut off to remove a ring and that his wooden leg had been stolen. The North was outraged.

The South was far more outraged at the documents Dahlgren carried. The relevant order read, “The men must keep together and well in hand, and, once in the city, it must be destroyed and Jeff Davis and his cabinet killed.” Lincoln had hand-picked Dahlgren for the raid, and southerners believed that he must have known about an order that extreme.

The gloves were now off, for the Confederate government now believed that Lincoln had ordered Davis’ death. The Confederates took the unusual step of photographing the orders and distributing copies throughout the Confederate states. Copies were also sent north asking for comment. Major

General George Meade, commander of the Army of the Potomac, responded that there had never been any intention or order to kill Davis and the cabinet. But Meade had not been in on the planning of the raid.

Colonel Bradley T. Johnson, whose men had been among those instrumental in foiling the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren raid had been scheming and plotting in the boredom of winter encampment of 1863-64. He produced a plan to capture Lincoln. A small group would sneak into the capital while a couple of hundred horse would cross into Maryland and serve as a diversion. Before Dahlgren’s Raid this was a pipe dream. After the raid the plans were passed up the line and swiftly approved for action by Generals Wade Hampton and Jubal Early.²

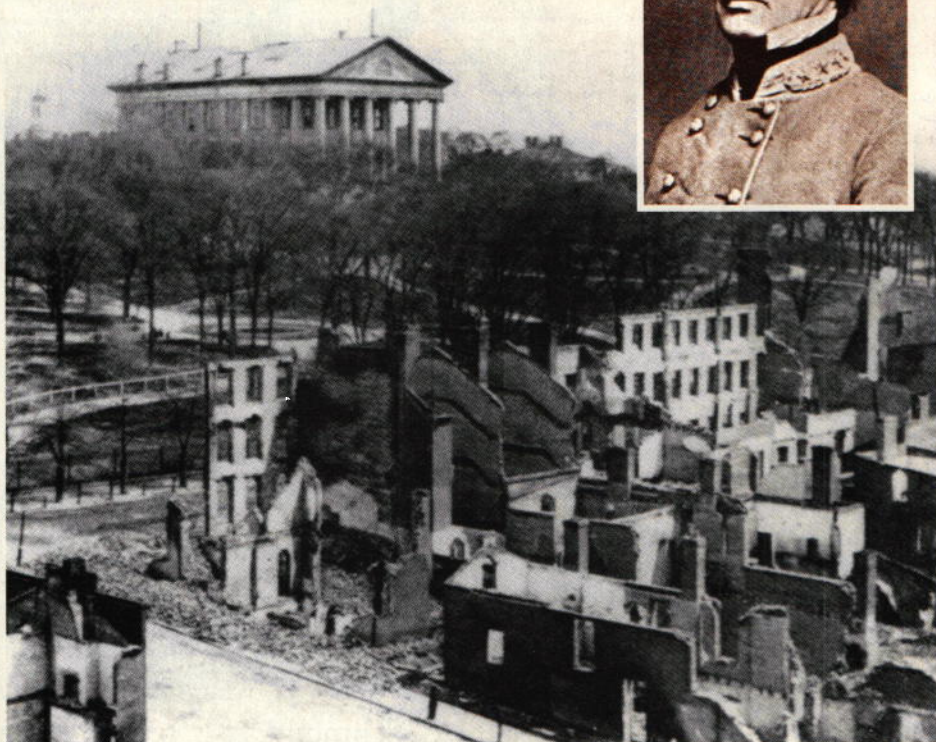
The idea, to bring Lincoln into the South as a captive, would have been a great propaganda coup. It would have spotlighted the power and brilliance of Southern arms. It could have been used as a negotiating tool, at least to secure the release of southern prisoners in northern hands, at most to secure some sort of peace. It is impossible to tell what would have happened had it succeeded.

Before the mission could be launched, the military mind struck again. Bradley Johnson was promoted to brigadier general and the capture plan was subsumed into Early’s raid on Washington. Johnson himself wrote that Early had told him (in regard to the plan) “... as soon as I smash up Mr.



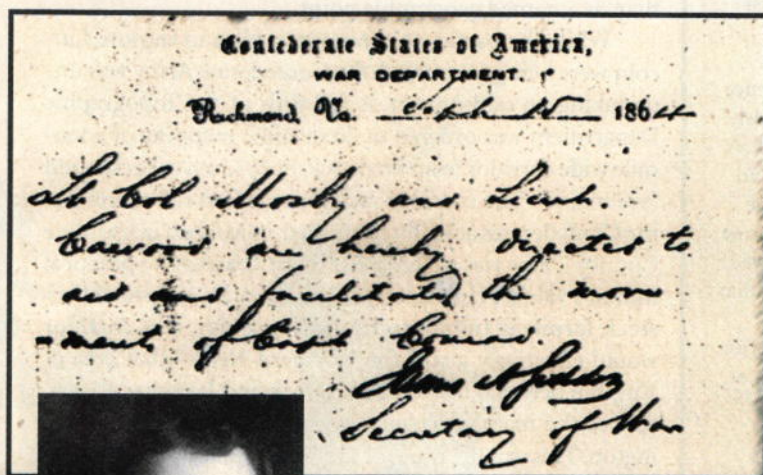
The Confederate Torpedo Bureau was commanded by Brigadier General Gabriel Rains ... a fluid group of inventors, technicians, geniuses, madmen, and other creative types ...

Generals Bradley T. Johnson (top), and Gabriel Rains. National Archives
The photo of the burned-out remains of the Torpedo Bureau (right) on the corner of 9th and Bank Streets, was taken after the evacuation fire. Library of Congress



Hunter's little tea party, I'm going to Washington myself. You'll put all that out so you mustn't try it until I come back."³ An army, much more noticeable than a couple of hundred horse, headed into Maryland and was slowed at Monocacy Junction, near Frederick, and stopped at Fort Stevens, in the northwest part of the District of Columbia. The capture plot was aborted with the defeat of the larger force.

SINCE THE ARMY HAD FAILED, the capture plot was turned over to civilian intelligence. The first civilian attempt was made by the Reverend Captain Thomas Nelson Conrad. Conrad was an ordained minister who had worked as a cavalry scout but had recently been transferred to the chaplain's department in order to have better cover for spying. Conrad drew direct orders from Jefferson Davis and funds from Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin. He also carried orders for cooperation from the secretary of war addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Mosby and Lieutenant Charles Cawood, who commanded one of the crossings on the lower Potomac. Assigned to assist him was Captain Daniel Mountjoy Cloud, an old co-spy and college friend.



Above, a copy of Seddon's order: "Lt. Col. Mosby and Lieut. Cawood are hereby directed to aid and facilitate the movement of Capt. Conrad."

Signed: James A. Seddon
Secretary of War

Left: Captain Thomas Nelson Conrad.
Courtesy the Surratt Society

Conrad's group included John J. Norton from the 1st Maryland Infantry; Lemuel H. Henry, Washingtonian and civilian employee of the Confederate Government; and Gabriel Edmondson, identified as being in the Virginia Infantry, the Confederate Navy, and the Signal Corps! This group of intelligence agents went to Washington via the lower Potomac route, the Signal Corps Line, while another group, led by Cloud, went through Mosby's territory and probably crossed at Violet's Lock and made their way down to Washington.⁴

Conrad's group took up a watching brief in Washington to try to find a good way to isolate and capture Lincoln. Their

first post was some seven blocks from the White House and involved a long walk each way. They soon abandoned it for the home of Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, on Lafayette Square across the street from the White House. Tayloe was probably the richest man in Washington at the beginning of the war but most of his fortune and all of his sympathy lay with the South. By the end of the war most of his fortune was gone. Conrad and his troop were in Washington for a total of about six weeks before they abandoned their post. Conrad had seen Lincoln suddenly going about with a guard and assumed his cover had been blown. He claimed that he hot-footed it back to the Virginia side of the river and remained based at Boyd's Hole from the end of November until the end of the action. He added Mortimer Bainbridge Ruggles as his second-in-command and went back and forth to Richmond for the rest of the war.⁵

Meanwhile, others were also planning. The Confederate government seems to have sent out at least two concurrent missions. One, Conrad's, involved written orders. The other was much more covert.

John Wilkes Booth, the country's matinee idol, was chosen to head the more discrete mission. He was a passionate Southern sympathizer, drug smuggler, and agent of influence, so was known to the Confederate government. An "agent of influence" was one who, while not ostensibly a Confederate agent, made the argument for the Confederate cause. Booth arrived in Washington at the beginning of November, just before Conrad's departure. He had already disencumbered himself of various Pennsylvania oil interests which he had only recently acquired. He had traveled to Montreal, where he picked up money and arranged to ship his theatrical wardrobe to New Providence in the Bahamas. He had met with his old friends Michael O'Laughlen and Samuel Arnold.

Michael O'Laughlen's brother had been at school with Booth. O'Laughlen and Booth had also been members of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a group of Confederate sympathizers. O'Laughlen had served in Company D, 1st Maryland Infantry, and Sam Arnold had served in Company C of the same regiment. Arnold was discharged for disability but returned south to work with his two brothers in the Confederate Nitre Bureau. The job of the Bureau was to find and purchase materials for the manufacture of explosives; it was so successful that the South had gunpowder to spare.

Booth's only contribution to the war before November of 1864 was to run quinine south. He was a smuggler and agent of influence, not an active intelligence agent. He seems to have been recruited as an intelligence agent around July of 1864. By the time he met with Arnold and O'Laughlen, he apparently knew the movements of the president around the capital, even though he had not been in Washington for a year prior to this. We have, however, only Arnold's word that Booth was the one who was familiar with Lincoln's movements. Both Arnold and O'Laughlen had been in Baltimore, only forty miles from the capital, for some time, and had been in a position to take a short trip southwest and observe Lincoln's movements. The trains ran regularly between Washington and Baltimore, and it was no more than a modest horseback ride.

The Dahlgren Papers

THE PAPERS FOUND ON COLONEL ULRICH DAHLGREN

have been a source of controversy since the phrases, "Do not allow the Rebel leader Davis and his traitorous crew to escape," and "once in the city it must be destroyed and Jeff Davis and his Cabinet killed" were seen. The fact is that several documents were recovered from the body, three of which were critical.

One document was hand-written in ink on two sheets of official stationery headed, "Headquarters, Third Division, Cavalry Corps." It was addressed to the officers and men and ended with the exhortation not to let the Rebel leader escape. Part of it, including the signature, was written lengthwise on the back of the first page.

Another document, on identical stationery, was addressed, "Guides, Pioneers (with Oakum, Turpentine & Torpedoes), Signal Offr—QM—Com; Scouts & picked men in rebel uniform." It was written on both sides, but had no date and no signature. It also contained the sentence, "The men must keep together and well in hand, and once in the city it must be destroyed and Jeff Davis and Cabinet killed."

The third was a page in a notebook. Dahlgren's name and rank and a date appeared on the first page. The text was in pencil. One section was a draft of the address to "Officers and Men" but slightly different from the final versions. It included the sentence, "Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot."

All three were written in the same handwriting, and the first page of the notebook is strong evidence that it was Dahlgren himself who wrote them.

The Union government had good reason to deny the existence of these documents but they were photographed and copies widely distributed. The paper was thin enough for ink to bleed through. A lithograph was made in Europe from one of the photographs, and because of an attempt to correct for the bleed-through, the name Dahlgren was spelled "Dalhgren" in the lithograph. People who saw this, including Dahlgren's father the admiral, immediately believed this was evidence of Confederate fabrication. That, and the fact that

Major General George Meade, Kilpatrick's superior, made a legitimate denial of any knowledge ended the issue for the Union.

*Edwin M. Stanton
Courtesy National Archives*



Meade had no knowledge. He had been left out of the loop. The operation was planned and organized by Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. The armies, North and South,

were busy with the Wilderness Campaign and the controversy died out. This does not mean that Jeff Davis or Judah Benjamin forgot that the head of the Yankee government may well have ordered their executions.

After the war, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton requested that the Dahlgren papers be sent to him; the originals have not been seen since. In 1879, when the records were being compiled, it was stated there was no record of the papers. However, there were, of course, too many lithographs and photographs for them all to have been destroyed.

For more information, see James O. Hall, "The Dahlgren Papers," *Civil War Times Illustrated* (November, 1983), pp. 30-39

At about the time that the Reverend Captain Conrad gave up and went South, John Harrison Surratt and his sister Anna arrived in Washington to set up a boarding house to be run by their mother, Mary. Booth, Surratt, and Conrad were in town at the same time for a few days. John Surratt's father, John Harrison Surratt, Sr., was a Confederate agent and United States Postmaster at the family home, inn, tavern, and post office at Surrattsville, in Prince George's County, until he died early in the war. John's brother, Isaac, was a soldier with the Confederacy. John took over his father's positions as United States Postmaster and Confederate agent until he was relieved of the postmastership by reason of youth, since he was only eighteen. He continued to serve as a courier, making trips back and forth to Richmond by way of the Confederate Line through southern Maryland.

Conrad later said that he frequently took meals at the Surrattsville tavern on his way back and forth between Washington and Richmond. The tavern was listed by Confederate military records as a point on the route, and was the only place listed by means of a person's name rather than as a named geographic point.

While the parties to the covert action to capture Lincoln were being assembled, the Confederate Army was undertaking an odd project. A full fifth of the Topographic Department was ordered to do detailed mapping of a ten-mile wide corridor from Fredericksburg south to Richmond (see map).⁶ The corridor included the first rail point that the Confederates actually controlled, at Milford in Caroline County. There was nothing else there. It was of no practical military value, being mostly tobacco, truck, and small livestock farms. If tightly controlled, however, this corridor would effectively guard the Northern Neck—that area of Virginia between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, east of the main corridor between Richmond and Washington. This was the route of the "Secret Line," and the route down which a captured Lincoln might well be brought.

On November 5, the Confederate Army drew two hundred fifty thousand dollars to the Richmond Paymaster to pay "officers and soldiers arriving at Richmond and going on furlough who cannot be detained."⁷ What? Those words, "going on furlough...cannot be detained" are quite interesting. Never before and never again would a draught be worded that way. Who were these officers and soldiers, and what kind of furlough would they be going on that they couldn't hang about and draw their own pay?

The men included part of Mosby's Rangers, who had no particular business there. The 9th Virginia Cavalry announced in October of 1864 that it was invaliding out a large number of men. Men from other units were welcome to join the 9th at this time, and take advantage of this process. Why do this at the South's most desperate time? The 47th Virginia Infantry Regiment, the group that absorbed the Maryland Guerrilla Zoaves, and the 30th Virginia Regiment also granted massive furloughs.⁸

All these men were supposed to be defending Richmond. The Union reports of the Confederate order of battle

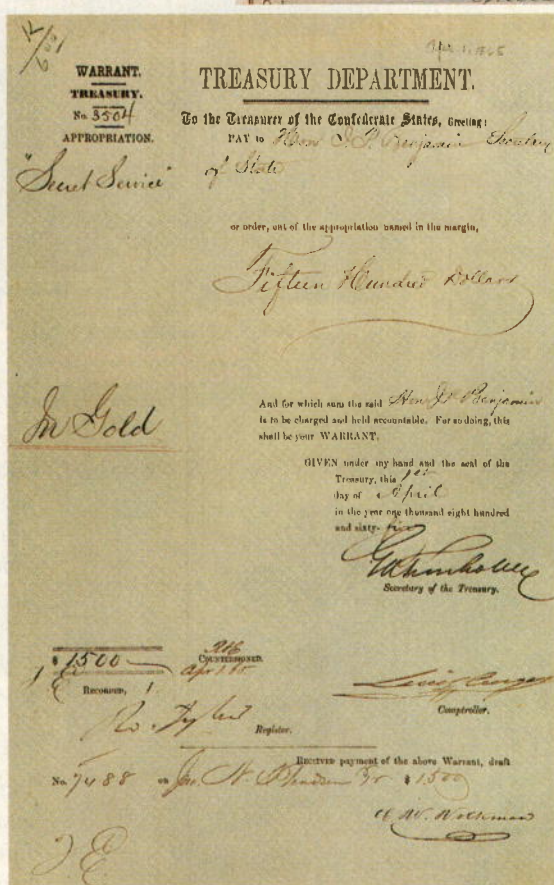
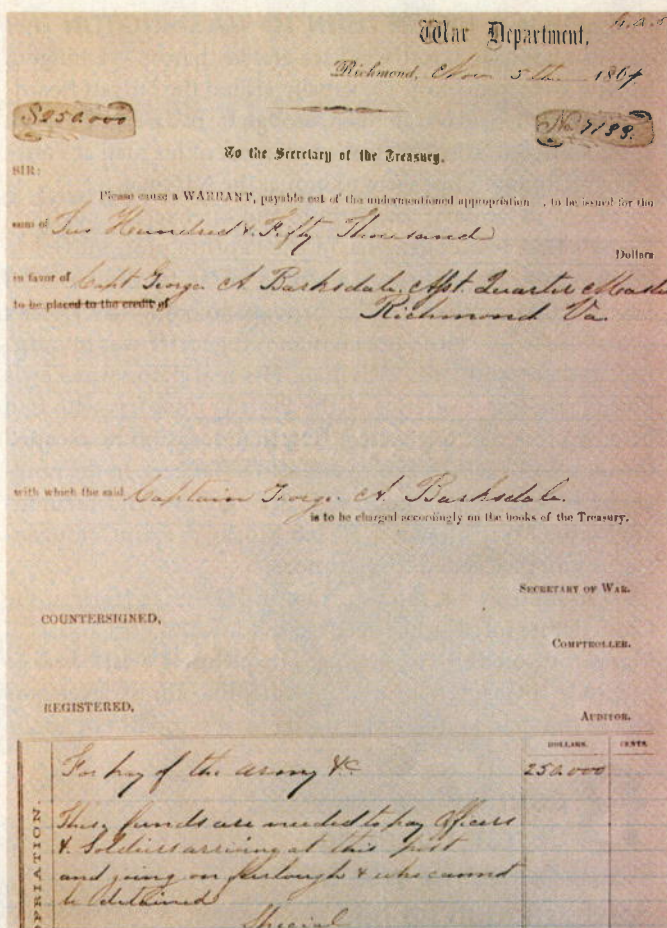
showed them in the defense line at Richmond. In October of 1864, Richmond needed all the help it could get, yet all those men were "furloughed." Where did they go? They headed home, but not for long. One of them, Lieutenant Cornelius Carlton, wrote that he had not been home more than a week before a message came that he was to organize a five-man team to patrol the area south of the Rappahannock for a period of thirty days. Since his furlough was to have been for twenty days, the patrol period went well beyond his furlough.

This massive and convoluted shuffling about of troops effectively moved men into positions where they could cover the retreat from Washington of a small party of men. One of those parties would include John Wilkes Booth, who was actively making arrangements in Washington. He traveled to Charles County, Maryland, to visit Dr. Samuel Mudd on more than one occasion. On November 11, 1864, he took a letter of introduction from Patrick C. Martin, a former member of the Maryland Guerrilla Zouaves, and traveled to southern Maryland. On November 12, he attended St. Mary's church with Dr. William Queen, a known link in the courier route. Dr. Mudd sat in the same pew in the church, which was not his own parish church. (There is evidence that St. Mary's was a regular meeting place for Confederate agents.) During a subsequent visit to Charles County, in December, Booth met again with Mudd and they were joined by Thomas H. Harbin, who had been a Confederate spy since the beginning of the war.⁹ On December 20, Booth took delivery of a horse at Bryantown Tavern, where he was staying. The horse dealer had been recommended by Mudd.

On December 23, Mudd, John Surratt, and Booth met in Washington, a get-together witnessed by a boarder at the Surratt boarding house. After the meeting, Booth traveled north, stopping at his sister's home in Philadelphia and continuing to New York to stay with his brothers.

In January, the Confederates made another unusual move. They mined the Rappahannock River. No action had ever taken place along the river. No Union naval vessel had come up it in years. The Reverend Captain Thomas Nelson Conrad even helped the Confederate navy place a few mines in the Potomac along the Virginia bank. Conrad later reported that all the "creeks and coves" in the vicinity of Boyd's Hole had been mined. The mine layers from the Confederacy were around that area until at least March, when they were in a fire fight with a United States Navy flotilla.¹⁰

The mapping and mining could not have been merely to protect the courier route; that had been operating throughout the war with no problems. So why go to all this trouble so late in the war? It must have been in connection with something much more important than the safeguarding of newspapers and spy messages.



Never before, and never again, would a draught be worded that way...

The above warrant was reproduced at the National Archives by Rolf Lang.

Benjamin drew fifteen hundred dollars in gold "for Secret Service" without specifying its use.

Benjamin's Warrant: courtesy Duke University, Special Collections Library

FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON after the 1864 holidays, Booth was back and forth from Washington to New York frequently. He usually visited the Surratt boarding house when he was in town, though he had a regular room at the National Hotel. He picked up most of his mail at Ford's Theatre, though some went to him at the National.

Early in January, Sam Arnold and Michael O'Laughlen, Booth's first two colleagues in the capture plot, moved to Washington. On January 13 a man going by the name of Lewis Paine applied to the provost marshal at Fairfax Courthouse for status as a civilian refugee. He was no refugee, and certainly not a civilian. His real name was Lewis Powell. He was a veteran of the Florida infantry, who had been wounded at Gettysburg. On that occasion he escaped through Baltimore and joined Mosby's Rangers. In the rangers he served with Captain B. F. Stringfellow and Lieutenant Walter "Wat" Bowie.¹¹ He left Mosby to claim "refugee" status and proceeded to Baltimore.

On January 14, John Surratt and Thomas Harbin, the Confederate intelligence agent, went down to Port Tobacco, Maryland, on the Potomac shore, to meet with George Atzerodt, a German immigrant who, like almost everyone else in that part of the state, was at least sympathetic to the

southern cause. Surratt and Harbin bought a boat and turned it over to Atzerodt for safe-keeping.¹²

On January 21, Surratt went to Baltimore, where Powell/Paine was living, with money in his pocket. On the same day, the men assigned to the signal camp run by H. H. Brogden were transferred directly to "J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of State." The camp was located at Oak Grove, downstream of Lieutenant Cawood's camp on the Potomac. On the twenty-fifth of January, John Surratt went south by way of the Secret Line and the guarded corridor to Richmond and had a meeting with the very same Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin. It is known that Mosby was present in the same building on the same day, so it may well have been a three-way meeting; however, there is no direct evidence on this point.¹³

Some time in January, an old friend of Surratt's started turning up with everyone else. David Herold was a young man who regularly hunted near Surrattsville before the war and had been seen at Surratt's Tavern several times in the past.

On March 4, 1865, Lincoln was inaugurated to his second term. Most of the assassination conspirators were there: Surratt, Booth, Arnold, O'Laughlen, Atzerodt, and Herold. Mudd was in town. During the speech, Lincoln uttered the famous words, "...with malice toward none, with charity for all..." But before

he uttered the warm fuzzies, he said, "Yet, if God wills that [the war] continue, until all the wealth piled by the bond-man's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said *the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.*"

Lincoln was saying that the North would not give up the fight and let the Confederate States survive as a nation. Any hope for independent peace was dashed.

In Richmond, planning was proceeding for an orderly evacuation of the city, some time after the middle of April. The Confederate authorities had cached food and munitions along the anticipated evacuation route. Although the civilian population of Richmond was hungry and cold, and the army's uniforms were mismatched and tattered, the government had taken steps to ensure that the army would have adequate rations and plenty of ammunition for their weapons, during the proposed retreat.

On March 17, St. Patrick's Day, Booth and his band of spies planned to capture Abraham Lincoln on the road to the Campbell Hospital, a couple of miles north of the White House, where Lincoln was supposed to attend a theatrical performance. They waited in vain. Lincoln's plans

Booth visited the Surratt boarding house when he was in town, though he had a regular room at the National Hotel.

Surratt Boarding House (right), National Archives. Below: The National Hotel



had changed at the last minute, and he was accepting a seized battle flag at Booth's own hotel, the National. Arnold and O'Laughlen returned to Baltimore. Booth tried at least once more before the end of March to capture Lincoln. Booth had very good intelligence that Lincoln was planning to attend the opera on the twenty-ninth. He wired to Arnold and O'Laughlen to join him in Washington, but they failed to come. Lincoln stayed at City Point and did not attend the opera. The attempt failed before it was even begun.

ON MARCH 27, JOHN SURRATT LEFT WASHINGTON and, instead of turning back at Surrattsville as planned, went all the way to Richmond.

Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant was aware that the Confederate capital might be evacuated at any time. He said, "I was afraid, every morning, that I would wake from my sleep to hear that Lee had gone, and that nothing was left but a picket line." The Union was marching to a more rapid cadence than the rhythm of the dirge heard in Richmond.



Most of the assassination conspirators were at Lincoln's inauguration: Surratt, Booth, Arnold, O'Laughlen, Atzerodt, and Herold.

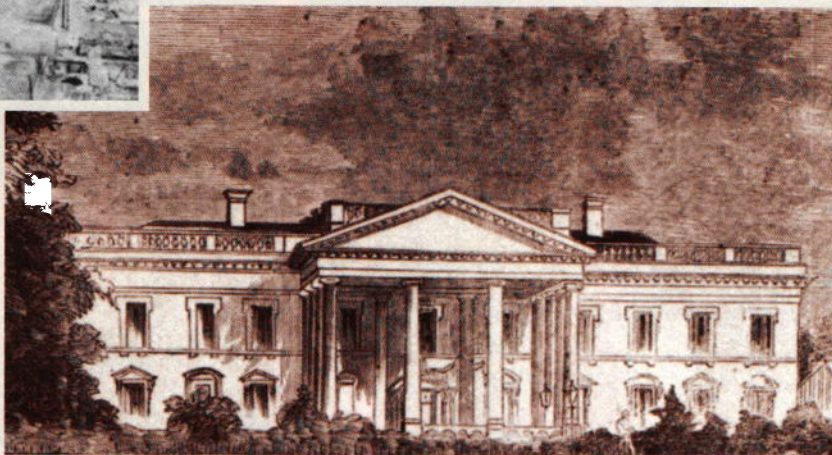
Above: The principle offices of Jefferson Davis, and the Confederate Department of State, and the Treasury Department, were located in the Customs House in Richmond. The White House at right, as it appeared in 1861. National Archives

A sea change clearly now took place at the highest levels of the Confederate government. The planners seem to have terminated the capture plan around the end of March, knowing that they would have to evacuate Richmond, leaving them no safe place to which they could whisk a captured president. On March 27, Lee issued an order to Mosby stating, "If any of your command is in the Northern Neck call it to you." Mosby's Rangers were not supposed to be in the Northern Neck. They usually operated far west of the guarded corridor. The order confirms that Mosby was assisting the blocking force. Even though Mosby's men were recalled, the rest of the blocking force, meant at least to slow Union movement east of the main north-south corridor between Washington and Richmond, was left in place.

John Harrison Surratt arrived in Richmond on March 29 and left on April 1. On or about this same date Thomas Harney, an "operator" (one who blew things up), was sent north to Mosby with "special ordnance." Private William H. Snyder of the Torpedo Bureau reported that this was "...aimed at the head of the Yankee government." Atzerodt, in one of his confessions, discussed a plot to mine the White House. This seems to show some knowledge of the Harney mission.

Why not simply abandon the threat to Lincoln? Why switch to an assassination plot? The new threat was not merely to Lincoln but to Secretary of State William H. Seward and Vice President Johnson simultaneously. A triple assassination, which is what the plot became, looked toward a more definite and immediately predictable result than had the capture plan.

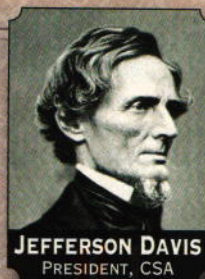
The killing of the president, the vice president, and the secretary of state would have created a constitutional crisis. The constitution provides that Congress shall pass laws for the succession of the presidency. Congress had passed such a law.¹⁴ Upon the absence of both the president and the vice president, the president pro-tem of the Senate, and then the speaker of the House, became acting president. The secretary of state was then mandated to arrange a new election. It was not envisioned that an acting presidency would last more than a year. There was no rule, law, or precedent to say what the powers of an acting president were. Could he conduct a war, or appoint a secretary of state to call an election? No one knew. A constitutional crisis, at least a temporary one, would be created.



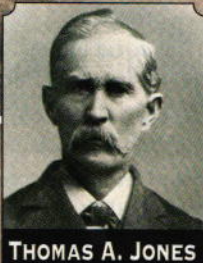
The day Harney was dispatched, Confederate Secretary of State Judah Benjamin drew fifteen hundred dollars in gold "for Secret Service" without specifying its use. Normally, secret funds were taken from the "Necessities and Exigencies" account. Benjamin already had on hand \$1,480.66 in gold, so this request was extraordinary. Two hundred probably went to John Surratt, who showed some of it in Washington and later stated that he had gotten two hundred dollars in gold from Benjamin that day. It seems probable that the rest went to Mosby and Harney for their expenses, because no other covert operation is known to have been going on at the time.¹⁵

On April 2, the government of the Confederate States of America fled Richmond in a train (continued on page 28)

THE LINCOLN PLOTS



JEFFERSON DAVIS
PRESIDENT, CSA

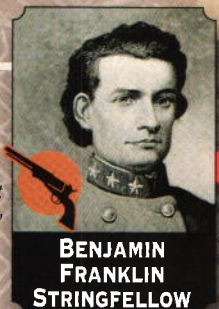


THOMAS A. JONES

Commander of the Secret Line, north of the Potomac



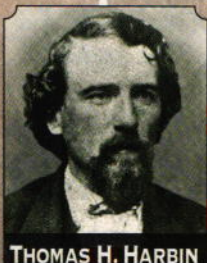
JUDAH P. BENJAMIN
SECRETARY OF STATE, CSA



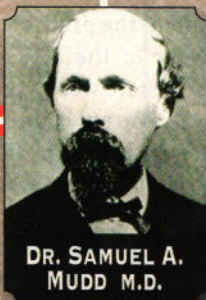
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN STRINGFELLOW

CSA scout and spy

Full time CSA spy

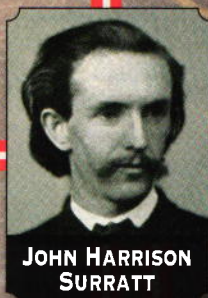


THOMAS H. HARBIN



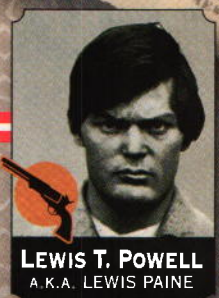
DR. SAMUEL A. MUDD M.D.

Key link in CSA underground



JOHN HARRISON SURRATT

Confederate spymaster



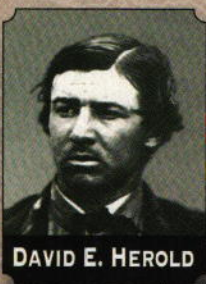
LEWIS T. POWELL
A.K.A. LEWIS PAINE

Confederate veteran, ranger and secret service agent



GEORGE ATZERODT

Boatman and smuggler



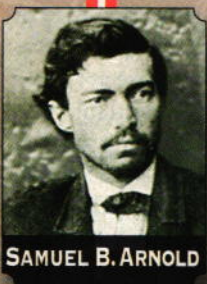
DAVID E. HEROLD

Booth's sidekick



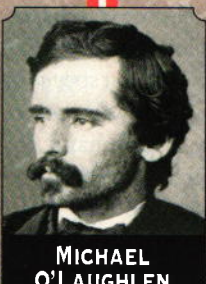
MARY SURRATT

Keeper of safe houses



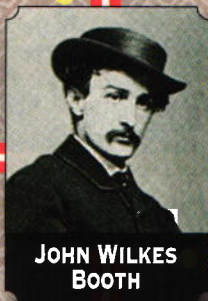
SAMUEL B. ARNOLD

Confederate veteran, one time employee of the Nitre Bureau



MICHAEL O'LAUGHLIN

Confederate veteran, member of the Knights of the Golden Circle



JOHN WILKES BOOTH

Carpenter



EDMUND SPANGLER

Matinee idol and late recruit to the Confederate Secret Service

Surratt Boarding House Washington D.C.

LEGEND

- Existing organization
- Plot A to kidnap, becomes Multiple Assassination Plot B
- Plot B to Kidnap
- Multiple Assassination Plot A
- Aided Booth's escape
- Mosby Ranger (past or concurrent)



JOHN SINGLETON MOSBY
LIEUTENANT COLONEL

The Gray Ghost of the Confederacy



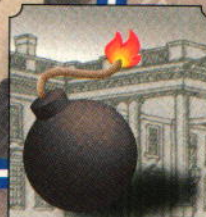
GABRIEL J. RAINES
BRIGADIER GENERAL

Head of the Torpedo Bureau



WALTER "WAT" BOWIE

Killed checking out the escape route



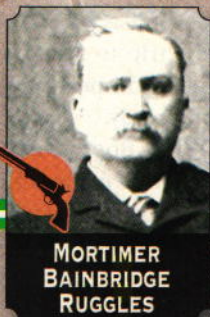
THOMAS HARNEY

The man chosen to blow up the White House



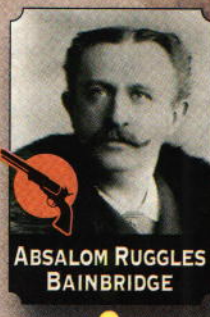
THOMAS NELSON CONRAD
REVEREND CAPTAIN

The "Chaplain Scout"



MORTIMER BAINBRIDGE RUGGLES

Conrad's second in command



ABSALOM RUGGLES BAINBRIDGE

Heading the wrong way for home

Ford's Theatre

Benjamin Franklin Stringfellow

June 18, 1840 - June 8, 1913

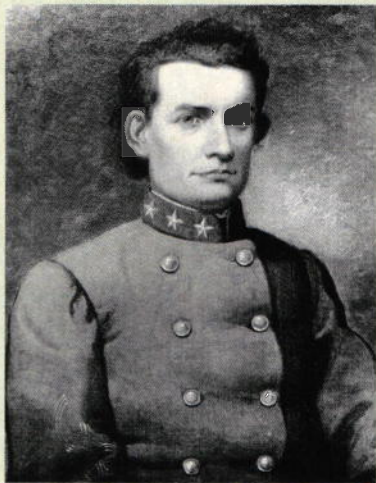
STRINGFELLOW WAS A PRINCIPAL SCOUT to J.E.B. Stuart, and later for General Robert E. Lee. He is referred to in some accounts as a captain, but the official record shows him commissioned lieutenant in 1865. He served with the 4th Virginia Cavalry, Mosby's Rangers, and as a secret agent behind the lines in mufti and, reputedly, in drag.

In March of 1865, he was personally sent to Washington by Jefferson Davis. The first thing he did was check into the Surratt boarding house. Shortly after that he moved into Kirkwood House, the hotel Vice President Andrew Johnson called home. He wrote to Davis in 1880 that he was, "...in constant communication with an officer occupying an important position about Mr. Lincoln."

For some reason he got became alarmed about April 1 and again, according to his letter, "Leaving the City of Washington by the aid of a person whose name is linked in the history of those last dark days, I went some twelve miles that first evening."

Historians have already noted that 12 miles was the exact distance to the Surratt Tavern in Prince George's County, Maryland. They have also guessed that the "person" was John Wilkes Booth, who also left Washington that day heading north on the afternoon train.

A close look at the movements of the conspirators that day tells another story. Louis Weichmann, a boarder at the Washington Surratt boarding house, later wrote in his memoirs that on Saturday, April 1, "When I left the house in the morning, she [Mrs. Surratt] was at the breakfast table, and when I returned in the afternoon she was gone." He goes on to relate that she came back in the evening with her brother, Zadoc Jenkins, reported that she had been to Surrattsville, and asked Weichmann to return the horse and buggy to Howard's livery stable.



On April 2, Mrs. Surratt asked Weichmann to go see Booth or Atzerodt for the purpose of borrowing a horse so that Mr. Jenkins could return to Surrattsville. Booth was out of town and Atzerodt maintained that he couldn't loan a horse without the permission of Payne (Powell), who would not give it. Mr. Jenkins returned to Surrattsville by foot or by stage.

Left: B. F. Stringfellow
Virginia Historical Society

The conclusion becomes obvious. Mrs. Surratt would not have traveled alone, so she must have had someone with her on the way down. She left that person there and was escorted back by her brother. Stringfellow went the twelve miles that day. He was arrested in Charles County April 2.

Q.E.D., Mrs. Surratt drove Stringfellow to Surrattsville and is the "person whose name is linked in the history of those last dark days."

Stringfellow escaped his captors and fled to Canada for more than a year before he returned to Virginia to take up matrimony and holy (Episcopalian) orders.

For more information on Stringfellow, see John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippencott Company, 1970); R. Shepard Brown, *Stringfellow of the Fourth* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1960); and Louis J. Weichmann, *A True History of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and of the Conspiracy of 1865* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975).

(continued from page 25) drawn by a brand new engine. They literally headed for the hills and went to Danville, Virginia. Before he left town, Benjamin burned all the papers of the State Department Secret Service. On April 3 Grant's army entered Richmond. The following day, Lincoln himself strolled through the streets of the conquered city.

Harney reached Mosby in Fauquier County, Virginia, on April 5. Mosby at once formed a new company of rangers. Harney and the new company headed east towards Burke Station and the Union lines around Washington. It is presumed that Harney, with his "special ordnance," was to be infiltrated through the lines.

Meanwhile, Lee's orderly retreat towards Danville and the Confederate government was blocked by Grant's army. The Army of Northern Virginia was cut off from its cached supplies, and brought to bay: Lee was forced to offer surrender on April 9.

Harney didn't make it to Washington. He was stopped on April 10 when, around Burke, Virginia, the rangers got into a running fight with some Illinois cavalry. Harney and several of Mosby's men were captured. Harney had enough papers or objects about his person that the after-action report of Colonel Charles Albright of the 202nd Pennsylvania Infantry, in overall command of the Union force, read that Harney had, "brought ordnance to Colonel Mosby and joined his command." ¹⁶ Notice of Harney's capture appeared in the *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle* on April 11, and on that day John Wilkes Booth started to act like a suicide.

Booth was definitely an agent by then. ¹⁷ He was working with confirmed intelligence agents. While it is just possible that a fanatic loyalist agent like Booth might go rogue and carry out an assassination on his own hook, it is highly unlikely that a man like Harney would *also* go rogue and talk Colonel Mosby into helping him. Furthermore, the failure of Assassination Plot A, the plot to blow up the White House, was immediately followed by the initiation of Assassination Plot B. This is surely not a coincidence.

Booth began selling off his personal possessions and putting his affairs in order, as do many serious suicides. He visited the Surratt safe house on H Street, and as soon as he left, Mrs. Surratt took an escort and made a trip to the tavern at Surrattsville, where she instructed the new manager to get the "shooting irons" out and ready.

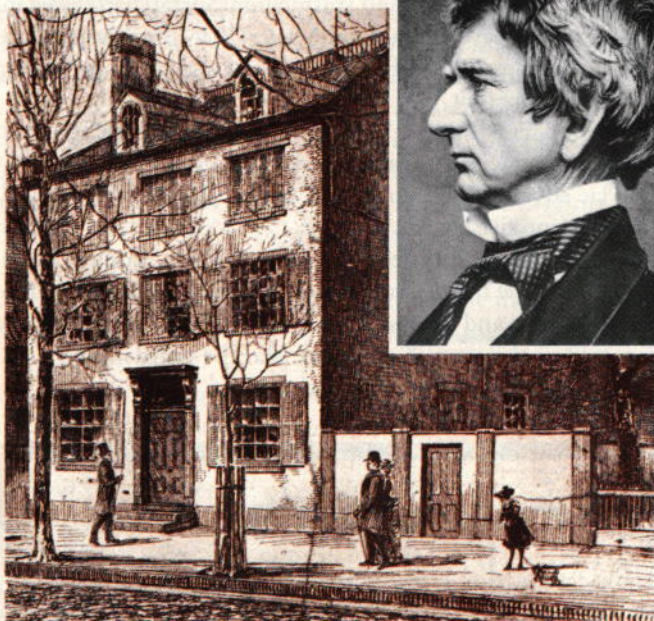
While Booth was organizing in Washington, the Confederate cabinet held a meeting in Greensboro, North Carolina. Most of the cabinet felt that they should surrender to Union Major General William Tecumseh Sherman. Jefferson Davis and Judah Benjamin held fast against surrender. They carried the day and the Confederate States of America continued to exist.

The formal surrender of Robert E. Lee to Ulysses S. Grant took place on April 12, 1865, at Appomattox

Court House, Virginia. There were other armies in the field. The war was not over. If the Confederate Government could reach safety and reorganize, they could keep fighting and perhaps maintain a territorial base; particularly if the Union high command was thrown into disarray.

On Thursday, April 13, Booth went to Grover's National Theatre and suggested that Lincoln be invited to a play on Friday. Booth bought tickets for the box directly across the theater from the Presidential Box. Ford's Theatre was different. Ford never sold other boxes when the president was in the house, and Booth was extended the courtesy of the house anyway. He could stand, if there was standing room only, or sit in an unsold seat. Ford's was Booth's mail drop.

Booth did not spend that night in his own room at the National Hotel. There is no record as to where he spent the night. He did write a letter to his mother, which he timed 2:00 a.m. That night someone went around to Secretary of State Seward's home, where he was recovering from injuries sustained in a carriage accident, and asked after the secretary's health.



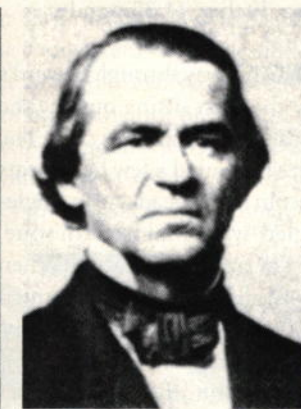
APRIL 14, 1865, DAWNED MISTY AND CHILLY. It was almost exactly four years from the day when the first shots of the war were fired at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. At Fort Sumter the same United States flag that had been surrendered was once again raised over the fort.

Booth started his day by showing up at the National Hotel for breakfast, then going around to his barber for a shave. John Surratt may well have accompanied him: both the barber and a maid at his mother's boarding house positively identified him.

Booth then picked up his mail at Ford's Theatre and visited with the owner's brother, who was preparing an announcement for an afternoon paper's gossip column stating that Mr. and Mrs. Grant and Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln would attend that evening's performance to enjoy a new patriotic song written in honor of the victorious soldiers. The Presidential Box was being hung about with flags and pictures. Ned Spangler, the the-

atre carpenter who had actually done work on the Booth family home, may have bored the spy hole which was later found in the door to the box. There are many, probably apocryphal, stories about how Booth spent his last day in Washington. There were not enough hours in the day or alcohol on the shelves for them all to have been true.

Booth arrived at the Surratt establishment after lunch, just as Mary Surratt and one of the boarders were leaving for "the country." Booth had a conversation with Mrs. Surratt while the boarder went to collect the horse and carriage. The boarder and Mrs. Surratt then drove down to Surrattsville, where she delivered a pair of field glasses to the tavernkeeper. She requested that the tavernkeeper have the "shooting irons" ready for parties who would call for them that night.¹⁸ Booth went on to Vice President Johnson's hotel, where he may have been checking on Johnson's whereabouts. He left a card enquiring as to Johnson's presence, which the clerk put into the wrong pigeonhole.¹⁹



The man assigned to murder the vice president, gave up at Johnson's hotel shortly before the appointed hour.

Secretary of State Seward (left), and Vice President Johnson. Below: Seward's home where he was attacked by Powell. National Archives.

The Grants decided not to attend the theatre with the Lincolns, probably because of the outrageously rude behavior of Mrs. Lincoln when the two couples were at City Point. Instead of the Grants, Major Henry Reed Rathbone and his fiancée joined the presidential party. The Grants boarded a train heading to Burlington, New Jersey, where their children were in school. During the trip, someone tried the locked door of the carriage and then went away. Atzerodt maintained someone was sent to kill Grant, and John Surratt may well have been on the train heading north for New York.

At just after ten o'clock that evening, three assassination attempts were to have been made. Two were. George Atzerodt, the man assigned to murder the vice president, gave up his barroom vigil at Johnson's hotel shortly before the appointed hour. He took his drink-filled self off, wandered around a while, checked into the Kimmel (Pennsylvania) House for a few hours of sleep, and then made his way north out of town to Germantown in Montgomery County, Maryland, where he stopped with relatives.

Lewis Powell, using the name Paine, called at Secretary of State Seward's house claiming to have medicine for him. David Herold served as Powell's guide to Seward's house, then left to meet Booth on the road south.

Seward's butler would not let Powell in, so he pushed his way past, fighting two more men he encountered, into Seward's

sick room. Powell's gun had jammed, and he had been physically assaulted and nearly knocked out, but he threw himself on Seward and attempted to slash his throat with a Bowie knife. The knife glanced off the heavy brace about Seward's neck, which thus saved Seward's life, and during the continuing struggle the secretary of state rolled off and under his bed, thus surviving the attack with only disfiguring wounds.

Powell lost his hat and discarded his knife as he leapt onto his horse and rode away. After getting lost and abandoning his horse near or in a cemetery, he finally found his way to Mrs. Surratt's. Wearing a sleeve for a hat and carrying a pickaxe, he arrived just in time to be picked up by authorities. Powell was arrested in spite of his clever disguise. When he escaped Seward's, he lost his hat. A man without a hat in those times would have looked out of place, so he tore off a sleeve and improvised a stocking cap. Having improvised a workman's hat, he picked up a pickaxe from a work site, so as to appear even more in character. His timing was the only thing that was off. He claimed to be reporting to dig a ditch at 11:30 p.m.!

WHILE POWELL WAS FIGHTING his way through Seward's home, Booth calmly walked up to the man sitting outside the door to the Presidential Box at Ford's and offered his card. The man waved him into the box, where he waited a few heartbeats for the big laugh line, then shot Lincoln in the head with a single-shot Deringer pistol. He struggled with Major Rathbone, dropped to the stage, and made his way out the stage door. When he landed, he snapped the small bone in his ankle. He mounted his horse and rode eastward, passing the sentries on the Navy Yard bridge over the Eastern Branch, using his own name.

Almost as soon as the alarm went out, the Metropolitan Police detectives identified a circle of people around Booth. One of them was John Surratt, and he was initially suspected of be-

ing the man who attacked Seward. The pursuit was on. The following morning, April 15, Surratt was in Elmyra, New York, conspicuously attempting to buy a specific brand of shirt (and thus establish an alibi). He could well have traveled south the night of the thirteenth and joined Booth for the day, boarded a northbound train in the evening, and been in Elmyra the next morning.²⁰

While Surratt was establishing his alibi, Booth was galloping through a damp April night heading for the Confederate Secret Line. Somewhere along the road he was joined by David Herold, Surratt's young friend who was to be his one steady companion for the rest of his life. The two men stopped at the tavern, where the tavernkeeper gave them one of the two Spencer carbines that had been hidden in the kitchen wall, the field glasses, and some whiskey. They rode south through the damp, cold dark until they reached the home of Dr. Samuel Mudd around four o'clock in the morning.²¹

Booth was well acquainted with Mudd and his home. Booth had met the man on several occasions and stayed the night at his house. Mudd was accustomed to sheltering couriers on their way between Richmond and Washington. Surratt had stayed in Mudd's woods several times, and Walter "Wat" Bowie had stayed in the house, possibly on his way to check possible escape routes for the capture plot.

Mudd set Booth's leg and improvised a crutch for him, and correctly diagnosed probable bleeding into the surrounding tissue. He advised Booth to stay off the leg. The fugitives stayed until around five o'clock on April 15 at Mudd's. They did not leave until Mudd returned from a trip to town. Mudd's failure to mention the fugitives at his home, and his other lies, led to his conviction and imprisonment. While Mudd was in town he was told of the assassination and who the murderer was, yet never mentioned Booth's presence.

The Guilty Flee Where None Pursueth

THERE IS ONE MORE REASON

to suspect Benjamin. Of all the members of the Confederate government, Benjamin is the only one who never, ever returned to the United States. He went to England by way of New Providence, The Bahamas; the intended destination of John Wilkes Booth's theatrical wardrobe.

Benjamin was not the only character in this cast who felt the need to stay away from the United States for a while.

John Harrison Surratt avoided capture until 1867, when he was arrested getting off a ship in Egypt.

Thomas Nelson Conrad, after passing some time in the Old Capitol Prison, was released and holed up in the Virginia hills until spring of 1866, when he emerged, purchased a school, and settled down. In

his memoirs he claimed he had never surrendered nor been paroled. On October 4, 1866, he wed Miss Minnie Ball of the Lowlands of Virginia at Friedland, the Ruggles' ancestral home and boyhood home of Bainbridge.

Thomas Harbin, the man who worked directly for Jefferson Davis, was paroled after falsely claiming status as a Confederate soldier, went to England and stayed there for three years.

B.F. Stringfellow escaped while being transported to the Old Capitol Prison, went to Canada and stayed there for more than a year. He then returned to Virginia and studied for the Episcopal priesthood.

John Singleton Mosby sent notes and emissaries back and forth while he kept his body out of Union hands until after

the known conspirators were safely executed or shipped to the Dry Tortugas.

Thomas Harney, the man who was sent to blow up the White House, disappeared without a trace after he was released from Union captivity in Alexandria, Virginia. He cannot be found in history, any census, any tax roll, any Confederate veterans' organization, or any city directory in the United States. There was no photograph of Harney and we did not yet use Bertillion measurements (A list of body measurements used for identification, preceding fingerprints), so Harney likely changed his name and was "gone for Texas," as they said then.

Flight is considered evidence of guilt in every legal system in the world.

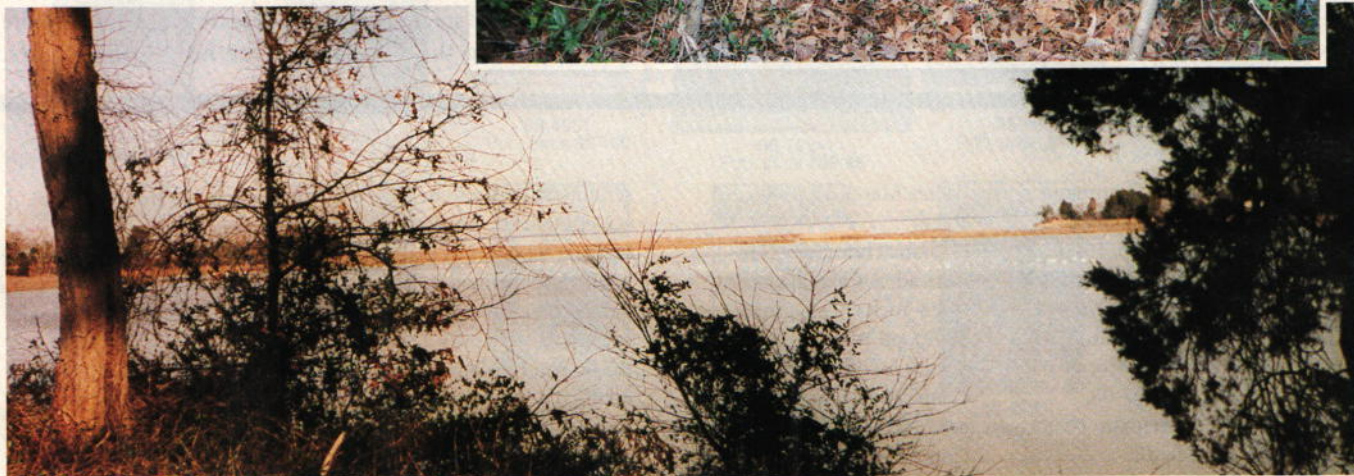
After Booth and Herold left Mudd's house, they made their way to the home of Oswell Swann. Swann led them to the home of Captain Samuel Cox, who turned them over to the commander of the Confederate Secret Line, Thomas A. Jones. Booth's leg was so bad that he was unable to travel, so Jones hid them in (or near) Zekiah Swamp, supplying food and newspapers, for nearly a week. Despite the offer of a reward of one hundred thousand dollars for information leading to the capture of Booth, Jones insisted he know nothing.

Jones hid them in or hard by Zekiah Swamp, ... a miserable damp, cold, dark place for a man in pain on the run.

At right, Zekiah Swamp.

Below: The mouth of Maddox Creek near Brogden's camp. The Potomac can be seen in the background. The white spots are swans.

Photographs by Katherine DeWitt, Jr.



ZEKIAH SWAMP IS A PARADISE FOR WILDLIFE but a miserable damp, cold, dark place for a man in pain on the run. In April, the peepers were deafening from dusk to dawn. The water was at a high level and firm ground on which to rest was scarce. Dry land was a fantasy.

On April 16, the day after Booth left Mudd's, Thomas Harbin, who had met with Mudd and Booth at a nearby tavern in December, and his partner, Joseph Baden, a private in the Signal Corps, were waiting at Newport. Newport is the nearest village on high ground to the bottom of Zekiah Swamp where it empties into Allen's Fresh. Harbin was an intelligence agent who worked directly for Jefferson Davis.²² On Monday, April 17, Thomas Nelson Conrad was arrested at Maryland Point, a few miles upriver from Pope's Creek on the Maryland side of the river.

In an attempt to draw a red herring across the path and throw off the pursuit, Harbin and Baden crossed the Potomac River at Swan Point (or Cuckold Creek). They crossed directly

to Mattox Creek, near George Washington's birthplace. Baden had been stationed at Brogden's camp, and he landed at the most convenient point to reach the camp.

On April 12, two days before the assassination, a small group of Mosby's Rangers had been spotted slightly east of Newport. Newport is only a little over two miles from the place in which Booth and Herold would be hiding in Zekiah Swamp. Mosby's troops had no business being there unless they were detached to cover something. By the night of April 15, the troops

had moved to about seven miles east-northeast and about ten miles south-southeast of Mudd's. They got into a shooting match with some Union troops, but got away. Booth and Herold were at the time just settling into Zekiah Swamp.

On the night of April 21, Booth and Herold attempted to cross the Potomac. Ironically, Harbin and Baden's red herring backfired. It alerted the Union forces, who threw heavy naval support onto the river. The fugitives encountered gunboats and had to go far upstream of their destination and land on the Maryland side, at Nanjemoy Creek, beyond the Port Tobacco River. The next night, they crossed over but did not make it as far downstream as Mattox Creek, landing instead at Machodoc Creek.

Booth and Herold next sought shelter at the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Quesenberry. She was sister-in-law to John Tayloe, grandson of the man who built the house Conrad used for a lookout in Washington, and owned the west side of Nanjemoy Creek. Harbin and Baden were waiting there. Mrs. Quesenberry

fed the fugitives a meal, and Harbin then sent them on to Cleydale, the home of Dr. Richard Henry Stuart.

Dr. Stuart entertained the men and fed them. After leaving Stuart's, Booth wrote a sarcastic note and sent it with two dollars and fifty cents to cover the cost of the hospitality. It seems a reasonable assumption that this was to cover Dr. Stuart in case he was discovered to have sheltered the fugitives. He had already been arrested twice during the war and was on his way to being arrested again.

The fugitives arrived at the home of William Lucas, a free black, after midnight, April 24. They rudely evicted Lucas and his sick wife and made themselves at home. In the morning, they paid Lucas \$20 for the use of his son Charley and a wagon. Charley drove them to the Rappahannock River. Booth and Herold were waiting for the ferry over the Rappahannock to Port Royal when they got into a conversation with three Confederate soldiers. The identity of the soldiers is revealing.

Mortimer Bainbridge Ruggles was the son of a certain Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles, an officer who began the war commanding the leg of the courier route from the Potomac to the Rappahannock, did other intelligence work, and was in charge of prisoners later in the war. Mortimer Ruggles had served as Reverend Captain Conrad's second in command at Boyd's Hole. He was riding Conrad's horse, which he let Booth ride. Absalom Ruggles Bainbridge, his cousin, had served

with him in Mosby's Rangers, as had Willie Jett, the third man. Herold later said they claimed to be soldiers on their way home from the war. Ruggles and Bainbridge were going in the wrong direction to be going home. They grew up together at Friedland, less than four miles from Conrad's camp, hard by the Potomac River, and they still called it home. While Booth and Herold were getting acquainted with their new escort, Charley Lucas was chatting with Dick Wilson, another black man.

The party of five now traveled along the Confederate courier line until they reached the farm of Richard Garrett. No one has ever tied Garrett to the Confederate government, but he lived along the Confederate courier route and the cousins knew who he was. Every other white person Booth encountered along his escape route was a member of the Confederate underground, or worked directly for the Confederate government.

Booth stayed at Garrett's, being fed and bedded by Garrett, while the three soldiers and Herold proceeded to a brothel known as The Trap, midway between the Rappahannock and Bowling Green. After a stay there, Jett and Ruggles continued to the home of Jett's girl; Bainbridge and Herold went to the home of Joseph Clarke.

Tuesday morning, all four met up at Bowling Green. Jett decided he would stay at the home of Henry Gouldman, where he was courting the daughter of the house, so Ruggles,

Notes:

1. Edwin C. Fishel, "Command Decision," *North & South* (February, 1998), pp. 15-29.
2. William W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Company, 1869), pp. 203-08.
3. *Ibid.*; John C. Brennan, "General Bradley T. Johnson's Plan to Abduct President Lincoln," *Chronicles of St. Mary's* (November and December, 1974), pp. 413-24; see also Bradley Johnson, "My Ride Around Baltimore in Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-Four," *Cavalry Journal* (September, 1869), pp. 413-24; Testimony of C. Irving Ditty of Johnson's Command, U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Document 42, p. 275, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, February 1, 1887; "The Attempted Capture of Lincoln," an interview with C. Irving Ditty, *New York Times*, March 15, 1880, p. 3, col. 6.
4. Captain Thomas Nelson Conrad, *A Confederate Spy* (New York: J. S. Ogilvie, 1892), pp. 68-75; *The Rebel Scout: A Loyalty to the Confederate Cause* (Washington: National Publishing Company, 1904), pp. 118-26; Richmond Passbook #131, 9 March-16 December 1864, Chapter IX, Record Group 109, National Archives.
5. Conrad, *Confederate Spy*, 106-7; M. B. Ruggles, Compiled Service Record, National Archives.
6. Special Order 196, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond; Engineer Department Sketch and Cash Books, File Entry 26, Record Group 109, in *ibid.*
7. Requisitions on the Treasury Department for Funds, Chapter IX, Vol. 84, No. 7133, in *ibid.*
8. The removal of troops from the main defensive line and sending them up to be a screening force required a convoluted series of maneuvers fully explained in *Come Retribution*, 346-59. Simply, regiments were pulled out of the line and assigned to fortified or back areas, still technically within the defense area, where a reduction in force of up to one-third would not be noticed.
9. Edward Steers, Jr., *His Name Is Still Mudd* (Gettysburg: Thomas Publications, 1997), p. 40.
10. Conrad, *Rebel Scout*; U.S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1914), Ser. 1, Vol. 5, pp. 520-21.
11. James O. Hall, "Appointment in Samara," *North & South* (February, 1998), pp. 76-80. It is now thought that Bowie's unusual raid was a test of whether the northern or southern route across the Potomac was best for transporting a captured Lincoln. Bowie's death on the southern route settled this question.
12. Tidwell, Hall, and Gaddy, *Come Retribution*, 339.
13. *Ibid.*, 341.
14. United States Constitution; Article II, paragraph 6, and Sections 9 & 10 of the Session Laws of 1792, to be found at 1 *Statutes at Large*, 239.
15. William A. Tidwell, *April '65* (N.p., n.d.), 28.
16. U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. 1, Vol. 46, Pt. 1, p. 1310.
17. Asia Booth Clarke, *The Unlocked Book: A Memoir of John Wilkes Booth By His Sister*, edited by Eleanor Farjeon (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1938).

Bainbridge, and Herold headed back to Garrett's farm. They stopped at The Trap again for a second session with the Carter ladies; Herold stayed at Garrett's with Booth and the cousins proceeded north, finally going towards home. When the cousins reached Port Royal, they spotted a mass of Yankee cavalry. Even before the cavalry crossed the river, the commanding officer, Lieutenant Edward Doherty, had questioned Dick Wilson, Charley Lucas's buddy, questioned another area resident, and confirmed that men fitting the descriptions of the fugitives had indeed crossed the river. By the time the cousins spotted them, they were in hot pursuit. The cousins galloped back to Garrett's to warn Booth, then left the scene.²³

The cavalry went past Garrett's to The Trap and managed to convince one of the girls that they were searching for a rapist. They heard about everybody who had been there but they heard of no lame man, so they weren't sure they were still on the trail. They had heard that Jett had a girl at Bowling Green so they went to find and interrogate him. With a revolver to his head, Jett told all, and the cavalry backtracked to Garrett's. They surrounded Booth, who was hiding in the tobacco barn. Against orders, Sergeant Boston Corbett shot Booth, wounding him in the neck.²⁴



The paralyzed Booth lingered for several hours. His famed penultimate words, "Tell Mother I died for my country," could only be heard by the officers leaning close to his lips. Booth's dead body and Herold's live one were then taken back to Washington. Booth's body was identified and autopsied, then buried within the environs of the Old Capitol Prison.

Herold was tried by a military commission with Mary Surratt, George Atzerodt, Lewis Powell, now known as Payne, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlen, and Edward Spangler. At the trial, the Union attempted to prove the involvement of the "Canadian Cabinet" and other members of the Confederate government. This effort failed because of poor investigation and a remarkable amount of perjured testimony organized by one Charles Dunham, using the name Sanford Conover. Dunham, alias Conover, was a writer and a professional swindler. He may well also have been a Confederate agent of disinformation employed to undermine the trial.

Herold, Mary Surratt, Atzerodt, and Powell were hanged on July 7, 1865. Mudd, O'Laughlen, and Arnold were sentenced to life in prison and sent to the Dry Tortugas; Spangler was sentenced to serve six years. O'Laughlen died in prison. Mudd, Arnold, Spangler, and Dunham (Conover), were pardoned in February of 1869.

SO MUCH FOR THE DETAILS of the plots and their aftermath. It only remains to fit the last piece of the puzzle. Who conceived and directed the multiple assassination plot? One figure stands out in the Confederate government. One figure brilliant enough to have conceived a plan to paralyze the government of the United States. One figure who had both the power and the authority to do so. He stands accused by the one person who had a greater interest than any other in correctly identifying the author of the deed. Secretary of State Seward, who was saved by a brace from having his head nearly severed, blamed one man. He believed that Confederate Secretary of State Benjamin ordered Surratt and Booth to commit the triple assassination.²⁵ He did not

believe, however, that the Confederate cabinet actually had a meeting on the subject. Seward was certainly right that Surratt had conferred with Benjamin about April 1, 1865.

Furthermore, Benjamin would not have acted alone. He and Jefferson Davis had been best friends since their Senate days and always conferred on important matters. Harbin and Stringfellow (see sidebar) both worked directly for Davis. Judah Benjamin was in control of the mechanisms of the Secret Service. He had the brain to conceive of the triple assassination and its effects, he had the will, and he had the means. □

Images of Lewis Powell, George Atzerodt, David Herold, Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlen, John Wilkes Booth, and Edmund Spangler: *Library of Congress*. Images of Mary Surratt, John Surratt, Thomas Conrad, Samuel Mudd, Absalom Bainbridge, Thomas Harbin, Mortimer Ruggles, Walter Bowie, and William Jett: *Surratt House Museum*. The image of Thomas Jones: *The collection of Michael Kauffman*.

18. Louis Weichmann, *A True History of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln and of the Conspiracy of 1865*, edited by Floyd E. Risvold (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), pp. 153-54. See also Conspiracy Trial Testimony.
19. Tidwell, Hall, and Gaddy, *Come Retribution*, 441.
20. DeWitt Lange, "One Who Got Away," *North & South* (forthcoming).
21. Surratt House tour. See also Conspiracy Trial Testimony.
22. George Alfred Townsend, "Interview with Harbin," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, April 18, 1892.

23. Tidwell, Hall, and Gaddy, *Come Retribution*, 474.
24. Edward Steers Jr., *The Escape and Capture of John Wilkes Booth* (Gettysburg, Thomas Publications, 1992), p. 39.
25. Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, 2 Vols. (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1925-33).

Above: The Surratt House, Clinton (formerly Surrattville), Maryland. Collection of Surratt House Museum

LEE'S INVASION

Students of the Civil War have been at something of a loss to understand why General Robert E. Lee chose to launch the movement that culminated in the Battle of Gettysburg. He apparently had no specific military objective, and, as if to deepen the mystery, the climactic encounter itself was not planned, but was instead the result of a chance meeting of elements of the two armies, with neither commanding general present at the time.

UNFORTUNATELY FOR HISTORIANS, there is no known authentic blueprint of Lee's actual plans for his northward invasion. Hence one must, to a degree, speculate on his objectives. The following speculations are derived from what is known of the prevailing Confederate strategic situation and Lee's expressed views as to how the Confederacy ought to cope with it.

In the spring of 1863, the Union and Confederate military scale hung at an uneasy balance. Lee, with spectacular victories at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, and Chancellorsville in early May, 1863, held the upper hand in Virginia. The armies of General Braxton Bragg and Major General William S. Rosecrans stood at a stalemate in middle Tennessee. Major General Ulysses S. Grant's army was closing the noose on Vicksburg on the Mississippi.

A strategic debate was simmering among the top civil and military leaders of the Confederacy. An influential group, including Secretary of War James A. Seddon, Generals P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston, Lieutenant General James Longstreet (a corps commander in Lee's army), and a number of Confederate congressmen, advocated placing Lee's successful army on a temporary defensive and dispatching a portion of it to the West to redress the balance there.

Seddon suggested such a move to Lee in April, 1863. Lee opposed it and argued that an advance across the Potomac by his army would most effectively relieve the Federal threats in the West. The Battle of Chancellorsville, which occurred almost immediately thereafter, interrupted this exchange. Now that Chancellorsville was won and Virginia momentarily safe, Seddon again approached Lee with a proposal to send a part of his army to the relief of Vicksburg.

Lee's reply killed the project of sending his troops west at that time. He said the situation called for a decision between Virginia and the Mississippi, and that he considered the distance too great for a movement such as Seddon recommended. Lee said also, somewhat cryptically, that the "uncertainty" of the employment of any of his troops sent west made the venture "unfavorable." This was his guarded way of saying he distrusted the generals in the West in the use of the troops. When Jefferson Davis read Lee's message, he said it was what he had anticipated and that he concurred.¹

But Lee sensed that the idea of sending some of his troops west was not dead. He was keenly aware that he could not simply allow his army to stand idle; he must keep it employed in a

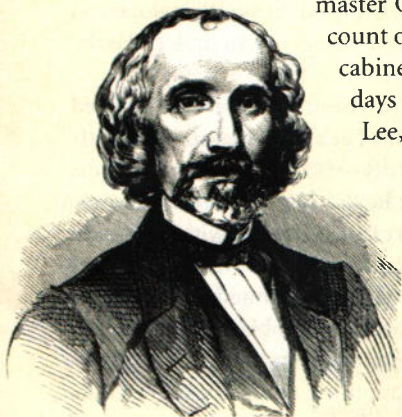


STRATEGY

manner that was advantageous to the Confederacy. The supreme question was: what was the most profitable use of this force?

In search of an answer to this question, Lee met with Davis and Seddon in Richmond a few days after the Battle of Chancellorsville. To the keen frustration of students of the war, no record of what was said in this critically important conference has survived. The nearest thing to such a record is to be found in Post-

master General John H. Reagan's account of a meeting of Davis with the cabinet, but without Lee, held a few days after the conference of Davis, Lee, and Seddon.²

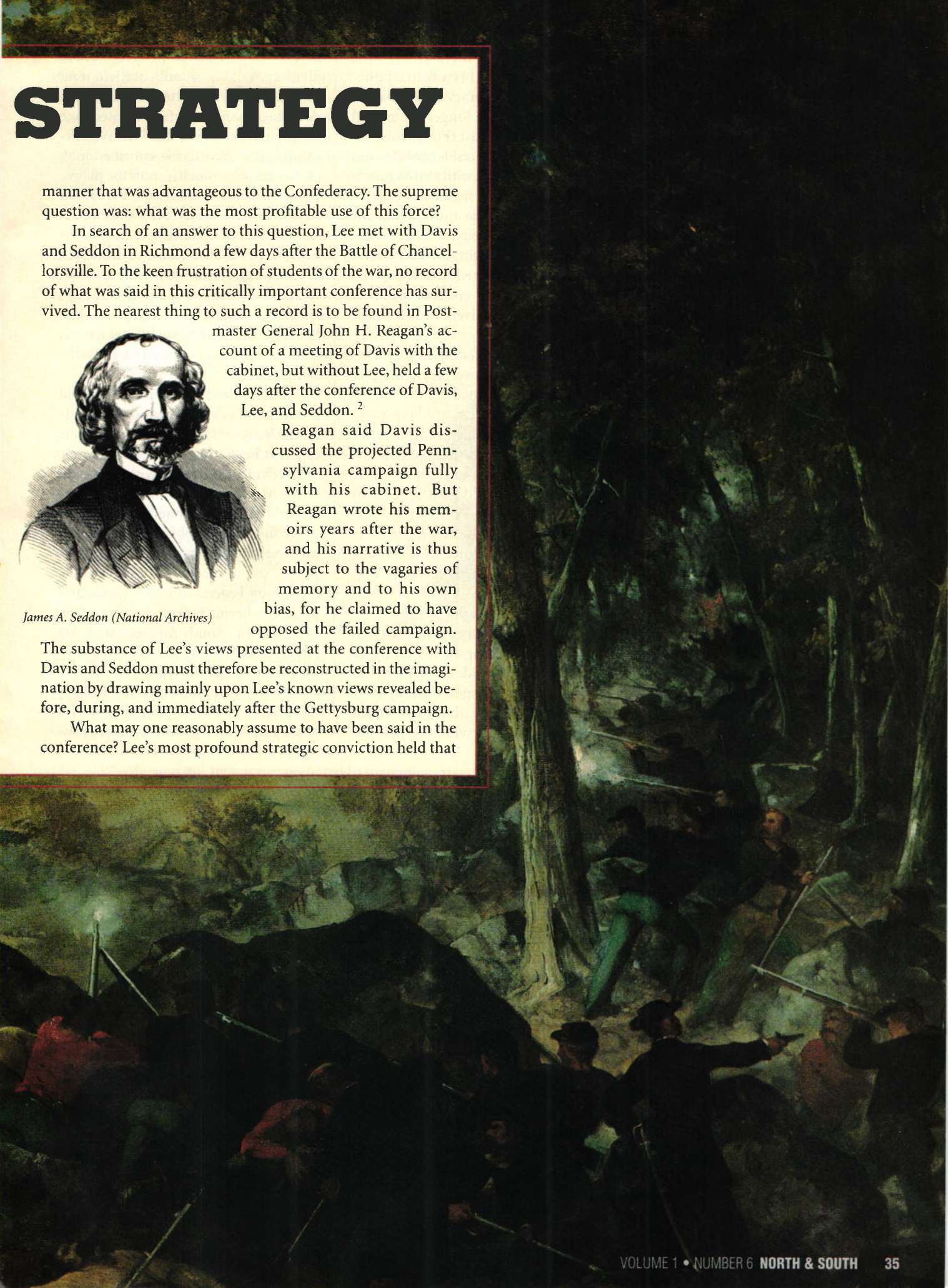


James A. Seddon (National Archives)

Reagan said Davis discussed the projected Pennsylvania campaign fully with his cabinet. But Reagan wrote his memoirs years after the war, and his narrative is thus subject to the vagaries of memory and to his own bias, for he claimed to have opposed the failed campaign.

The substance of Lee's views presented at the conference with Davis and Seddon must therefore be reconstructed in the imagination by drawing mainly upon Lee's known views revealed before, during, and immediately after the Gettysburg campaign.

What may one reasonably assume to have been said in the conference? Lee's most profound strategic conviction held that



the Confederacy lacked the capability of winning its goal of independence through direct, overall military victory. He believed Confederate success was possible only as the result of timely local military victories combined with astute diplomatic overtures that would split the mind of the North by appealing to the peace advocates there.

He had long held this conviction; near the end of the war he would tell Major General William Mahone that he had never believed a general Confederate military victory was possible.³ When he led his victorious army across the Potomac into Maryland in the fall of 1862, he recommended to Davis that the president make a peace offer to the Union government. Lee reasoned that such a proposal, made at a moment of Confederate success, would attract European favor by demonstrating that the South had no designs other than to gain independence and an honorable peace; and that the rejection of the proposal by the North would place the responsibility for the continuation of the war squarely on the Lincoln administration. Lee said this would enable the northern people to determine in their coming congressional elections whether to support a prolongation of the war or a termination of it. He believed a majority would vote for peace. The Battle of Antietam put an end to his hopes along this line.

Shortly before the Pennsylvania campaign, Lee wrote his wife that he believed if the Confederacy could "baffle" the Federals a while longer the northern people would oust the Lincoln administration in the presidential election of 1864 and replace it with a government dedicated to ending hostilities.⁴ During the Pennsylvania movement, Lee would write Davis, saying plainly that the Confederates ought not permit their recent successes (Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville) to conceal that they were becoming relatively weaker as the war went on.

He recommended, therefore, that Davis issue a peace overture calling for an armistice. He warned against making an explicit demand for southern independence, and reasoned that once the fighting ceased the northern population would not be willing to see it resumed, and the South would gain its goal by northern default.⁵ Whether Lee expressed all or any of these sentiments in the mid-May conference in Richmond cannot be determined; certainly they were in his mind as objectives of the Pennsylvania campaign.

Lee also had another matter strongly in mind: the feeding of his famished troops. The countryside of northern Virginia had been foraged bare by both armies, to the point that prior to the Battle of Chancellorsville Lee had dis-

patched two of his desperately needed divisions to the area south of Richmond to collect provisions. A Union soldier described the horses of the Confederate supply trains during the Pennsylvania campaign as having the famished look of emigrant livestock just off the plains. The rich fields and bulging barns and smokehouses of Maryland and Pennsylvania beckoned irresistibly to Lee and his half-starved soldiers, and his army did, in fact, forage vigorously while north of the Potomac. In the judgment of Lee's celebrated biographer Douglas Southall Freeman, the need for supplies alone was sufficient to impel Lee to undertake the campaign.⁶

All of the information discussed above, plus Lee's explanation shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg, would indicate that he did not move north merely in search of an encounter with the Union army; that his purpose was to carry out something of an extended raid designed to accomplish a number of ends, including keeping his own army intact, drawing the opposing army out of Virginia, disrupting Federal offensive plans, and possibly relieving Federal pressure on the West and the South Atlantic coast. He hoped to be feeding his hungry troops on enemy soil all the while.⁷

One may reasonably infer that Lee discussed all of these possibilities with Davis and Seddon in the Richmond con-



ference. What Davis said in reply is subject to greater speculation. One may surmise with confidence that he did not veto a move north of the Potomac; for Lee to have violated such a veto is unthinkable. Davis may have explicitly approved the campaign; or, he may neither have approved it nor vetoed it, but, in effect, may have left the decision to Lee's discretion. Possibly, of course, the prospect of a northward movement was not mentioned at the meeting, though in view of Lee's previous statements of preference for such a measure this would seem most unlikely.

Whatever was said, Lee and Davis obviously held different concepts of Lee's proposed operations. On May 30, Lee wrote Davis voicing concern over his failure to receive additional troops requested from the South Atlantic coast. Davis replied that he had never fully understood Lee's views and purposes until he received Lee's letter; that he would have complied with his wishes if he had known about them sooner.⁸

Lee's messages to Davis saying he was moving his army toward the Shenandoah Valley, and thus launching the Pennsylvania campaign, reached their

destination after the march was already under way. Lee seems to have been notifying Davis of one of the following: that he was putting into effect the plan for such a movement agreed upon in their conference; that he was exercising his discretion in undertaking the move; or that he was announcing it explicitly for the first time. In any case, his messages make clear that he was aware both Davis and Seddon were nervous over the prospect of a northward operation that would leave the capital and its lines of communication with the South vulnerable.

In early June, Seddon sent Lee correspondence indicating that the critical North Carolina port of Wilmington was in danger from a Union expedition. Lee's reply, dated June 8, told much about the



Pages 30-31: Repulse of General Johnson's division by General Geary's White Star division.

Peter F. Roethermel, artist. The State Museum of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Left: Citizens of Baltimore barricading the streets, Monday evening, June 29th 1863.

Edwin Forbes, artist; Library of Congress.

Below: General Lee's army crossing the Potomac at Williamsport, in scows guided by wires. C.E.H. Bonwill, artist; Library of Congress



man as well as his thoughts on the present campaign.

He minimized the danger to both Wilmington and Richmond. But, broadening his view, he wrote: "There is always hazard in military movements, but we must decide between the positive loss of inactivity and the risk of action.... I am aware that there is difficulty and hazard in taking the aggressive with so large an army in [my] front, entrenched behind a river where it cannot be advantageously attacked.... Unless it can be drawn out in a position to be assailed, it will take its own time to prepare and strengthen itself to renew its advance upon Richmond, and force this army back within the entrenchments of that city. This may be the result in any event; still, I think it is worth a trial to prevent such a catastrophe." He nevertheless told Seddon that if the secretary wished him to remain in Virginia on the defensive, he would do so.⁹

Lee fully understood that the Union authorities would make a de-

termined effort to abort the raid, and, if possible, destroy his army. He was therefore prepared to take advantage of any occasion that might arise for meeting a Union advance with an attack of his own. His statement to Seddon, "Unless [the Union army] can be drawn out in a position to be assailed," indicates unmistakably Lee's thoughts on this matter. After the war, Major General Isaac R. Trimble, a subordinate in Lee's army, would quote Lee as saying several days before the battle of Gettysburg that in moving north he hoped to be able to attack the Union army and "virtually destroy" it. Whether or not he actually said this, he was undoubtedly alert for an opportunity to engage the opposing force under circumstances that would enable

him to deal it a crippling blow. When the two armies collided at Gettysburg, he believed the moment for such a blow had arrived.¹⁰

In brief, in waging the Pennsylvania campaign Lee had a number of intermediate objectives in mind, objectives that could be viewed as strategic "targets of opportunity." But all of them merged into his overriding strategic goal, which was to convince a majority of the northern people that they were incapable of winning the war, or that the price of such a victory was higher than it was worth. Lee was striking at what the great Prussian philosopher on war, Clausewitz, might have called the Union's strategic "center of gravity": its will to continue the struggle. □

Opposite: Citizens of Pennsylvania working in the fortifications to repel the invasion of Lee's army.

George Law, artist; Library of Congress

Below: The Battle of Gettysburg. Library of Congress



THE STEPHENS "PEACE" MISSION

A little-remembered mission by Alexander H. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederate States, sheds more light on the question of Lee's motives in invading the North.



Alexander H. Stephens, Library of Congress

Although estranged from Jefferson Davis, opposed to many of his policies, and absent from the capital for long periods, Stephens maintained a keen interest in public affairs from the vantage point of his home in Crawfordville, Georgia. Largely ignored by the president and his cabinet, the skeletal Georgian, unaccustomed to having his counsel disregarded, yearned to have some significant impact on public affairs. The same conjunction of events that impelled Lee to move north also spurred Stephens to propose a diplomatic mission that, he hoped, would have just such an impact.

The vice president had been considering the subject of a negotiated peace with the North for some months, but the time had not been propitious. Now,

however, conditions seemed ideal. The South held a strong military position, and the battlefield situation was relatively quiescent—a condition Stephens believed absolutely essential for any successful overture to the Lincoln government. Obviously, in light of previous refusals by Washington to entertain the idea of negotiations, the true purpose of his mission had to be cloaked in some likely pretext. The utter breakdown of the cartel for exchange of prisoners served this purpose admirably. So Stephens—completely unaware of the army's preparation to move north—wrote to Davis on June 12, volunteering to confer with Union leaders on prisoner exchange. Not only might he possibly effect some good on that subject, he wrote, but “on *any point*” in relation to

Notes: Lee's Invasion Strategy

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 Vols. and index (Washington, 1880-1901), Vol. XXV, pt. 2, p. 790. Cited hereinafter as O.R.
2. The Confederate War Department clerk John B. Jones recorded in his diary on May 15 that Davis was closeted with Lee and Seddon for a long time that day. The diary indicates only this one meeting of Lee and Davis between the Battle of Chancellorsville and the launching of the Pennsylvania campaign. See Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital*, by J.B. Jones (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 333. Reagan's memoirs appear to mention two such meetings; a number of historians have referred to two meetings. But a close examination of Reagan's accounts suggests that he is talking about the same meeting in different contexts. See Reagan, *Memoirs: With Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War* (New York and Washington, 1906), pp. 120-21, 151.
3. Unsigned and undated memorandum by William Mahone to James Longstreet, c. 1890, in possession of Gary Hendershot, Little Rock; copy of printed excerpt in possession of Charles P. Roland, Lexington, Kentucky.
4. Archer Jones, *Civil War Command Strategy: The Process of Victory and Defeat* (New York, Oxford, Singapore, Sydney, 1992), pp. 153-54.
5. O.R., Vol. XXVII, pt. 3, p. 882.
6. Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, 4 Vols. (New York and London, 1934-1935), Vol. 3, p. 19.
7. See Lee's letters to Davis, dated June 2, 1863, in O.R., Vol. XXV, pt. 2, p. 848; and July 31, 1863, in *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pt. 2, p. 305. Herman Hattaway and Archer Jones, *How the North Won: A Military History of the Civil War* (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1983), pp. 397, 419, emphasize Lee's intention to stage a raid.
8. O.R., XXV, pt. 2, pp. 783, 842, 831-83; *ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 1071, 1074-77.
9. O.R., Vol. XXVII, pt. 3, pp. 868-69.
10. Emory Thomas, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (New York and London, 1995), p. 288, believes Lee went north seeking a “battle of annihilation.” General Trimble seriously weakened the credibility of his quotation by saying also that Lee indicated Gettysburg and vicinity as the place where he intended the decisive

battle to occur. That Lee demonstrated such prescience days before an encounter that bore every appearance of being unplanned is highly questionable. The Trimble journal that contains these assertions has the “ring” of having been “enhanced” at a later date. For a published version of the journal, see *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 119-21. Trimble's credibility in this matter is rendered further suspect by the existence of another source by him, a diary covering the same period which does not mention Lee uttering the alleged statements. The diary bears the earmarks of authenticity; it was kept in a small, pocket notebook that is worn and soiled by use, and its contents read as if they were hastily written in the field. For a published version of the diary, see the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-10.

Charles P. Roland is professor emeritus at the University of Kentucky, former president of the Southern Historical Association, and the author of numerous books dealing with the Civil War.

the war, he thought he “indirectly” might be able “to turn attention to a general adjustment” that would satisfy both sides.¹

Only four days earlier Lee had departed from his usual practice of not discussing politics and addressed a long letter to Davis on a subject which, “in view of its connection with the situation of military affairs,” he deemed both appropriate and worthy of consideration. “The manner in which the demonstration of a desire for peace at the North has been received in our country” troubled him. Any response from the South that tended to weaken the northern peace advocates was unwise. The North’s advantages in men and materiel would continue to increase. The South, therefore, should seize any honorable means of dividing the enemy: encouraging the northern peace movement was the most effective way of doing this. Lee scoffed at making “nice distinctions” between those Northerners who advocated unconditional peace and those who viewed it as a harbinger to restoration of the Union, as newspaper editors had been doing. Practically speaking, the South wanted only that the northern people stop supporting the war; it mattered not how this got done. If the North wanted to believe that peace would restore the Union, fine: Lee had no doubt that the South would as steadfastly demand its independence under peaceful conditions as in the midst of war. As to what course to take, Lee respectfully left that for the president to decide.²

Twice prompted about larger diplomatic purposes within just a few days of a major incursion into enemy territory, Davis now decided that peace feelers might not be a bad idea. Unlike his vice president, Davis firmly believed victory a better prod to negotiations than tranquility on the battle fronts. He decided to send Stephens to join Lee’s army, which he had every reason to believe might by that time be threatening Washington. A commissioner for peace accompanying an invincible army would masterfully combine force and diplomacy. So Davis wired Stephens to come to Richmond immediately.

Stephens received the telegram late on June 18 and departed on Monday, the twentieth. The war-ravaged rails didn’t allow him to reach Richmond until the twenty-sixth. To his shock he there dis-

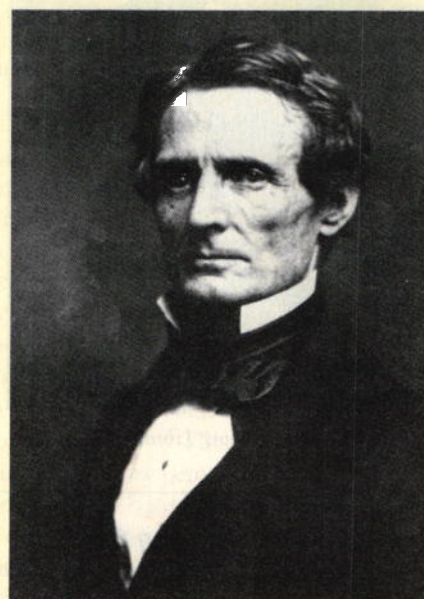
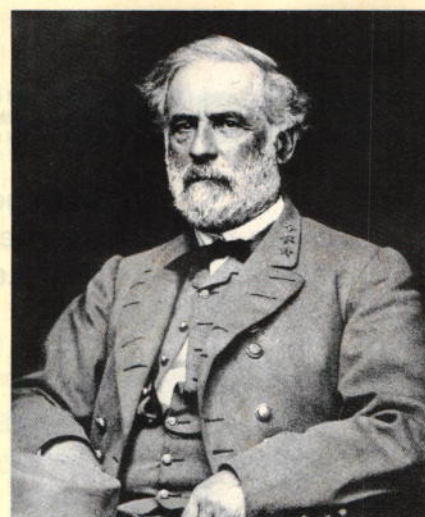
covered that Lee’s army had crossed the Potomac into northern territory and that the Mississippi River fortress at Vicksburg might be surrendering any day. Upon meeting with the president, a further horrified Stephens learned that Davis planned to send him to Lee’s headquarters to cross the lines under a flag of truce. The vice president instantly gave up all hope of accomplishing anything at all. He would never be received under such conditions. Davis agreed, but thought his plan presented the best hope of success. So strenuously did the vice president protest, that Davis decided to call a cabinet meeting to decide.³ The cabinet agreed with the president that the mission ought to be undertaken. Thus pressured, Stephens reluctantly agreed to go.

Davis firmly believed victory a better prod to negotiations than tranquility on the battle fronts.

General Lee (above) and President Davis.
National Archives

Stephens received his instructions on July 2. They said nothing, of course, about any negotiations beyond those aiming at reestablishing a cartel for prisoner exchange and discussing other matters of illegal warfare. This is hardly surprising: the ongoing battle in Pennsylvania had not been decided. In any event, Stephens could be recalled or his instructions amended if the situation warranted it. As the weather had turned rainy, mucking up the roads, it was decided that Stephens travel to Washington via water instead of going to Lee’s headquarters overland. Thus the small packet steamer *Torpedo* and its distinguished envoy chugged down the James around noon on July 3.

The vice president’s mission came to naught. Arriving at Newport News on the fourth, he waited two days before receiving the Washington government’s curt refusal to deal with him. His request was “inadmissible...Customary agents and channels” were adequate for any necessary military conferences and communications. Actually, Lincoln had been inclined to go to Fortress Monroe, but hardly anyone in his cabi-



net agreed. So he stayed in Washington, Stephens went back to Georgia, and his abortive mission faded into the footnotes of history.⁴

1. Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, II (1868-70), p. 559.
2. Clifford Dowdey, & Louis H. Manarin, eds. *The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee* (1961), pp. 508-09.
3. James Z. Rabun, ed., “A Letter for Posterity: Alex Stephens to His Brother Linton, June 3, 1864,” *Emory University Publications, Sources and Reprints* (1954).
4. *O.R.*, Ser. 2, Vol. VI, pp. 74-76, 79-80, 94-95, contain official correspondence, Stephens’ instructions and report, and Davis’ letter to Lincoln.

Thomas E. Schott is the author of *Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia: A Biography* (1989)

DYK Answers

1. Pettigrew's Brigade

Killed: Colonel James K. Marshall,
Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn, Jr.,
Major John Q.A. Richardson

Wounded: Colonel Collett
Leventhorpe, Lieutenant Colonel
John R. Lane, Colonel George H.
Faaribault

Wounded and Captured: Lieutenant
Colonel John A. Graves, Lieutenant
Colonel Marcus A. Parks

2. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine

3. Montgomery, Alabama

4. The Battle of Lookout Mountain

5. The 3rd New Jersey Cavalry, on account of their colorful Hussar- type uniforms.

6. Joseph Wheeler

NORTH & SOUTH

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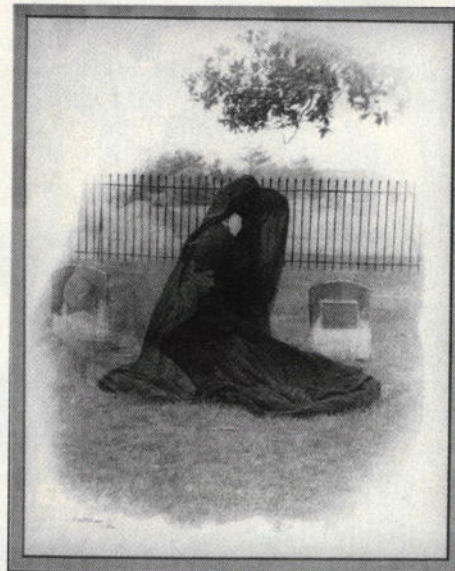
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Lee's Gallant 6000?

John Michael Priest

I began my work on Pickett's Charge with no other goal in mind but to witness the battle through the eyes of the participants on both sides.



To accomplish this I had to dissect every individual's testimony, to place them within the actual physical setting from which they based their observations. This approach demanded that I study the terrain and the man-made structures that delineated the boundaries of the Confederate line of march. It also required me to ascertain, as closely as possible, the troop strengths of the Confederate infantry involved in the attack. Pickett's Division contained 5,280 effectives, Pettigrew's Division 3,784, and Trimble's 1,916, for an aggregate of 11,484 officers and men.

HAVING DETERMINED the effective strengths of each brigade, I then decided to estimate the length of the front line brigades. The first thing I had to do was deduct the file closers, and regimental field staff from those who would have occupied the front line. Research has taught me that Civil War regiments generally "went by the book" when forming their commands for battle. Typically, 16% of those listed as "engaged" would not be in the ranks; where a report simply gives the number "present," the number actually in the line of battle is usually about 20% less.

The former number was confirmed by comparing the numbers of Pickett's Division reported as "engaged" with the list of named individuals who took part in the charge presented in Harrison's and Busey's *Nothing But Glory*. The 20% figure comes from my earlier study of the Battle of Antietam. On that battlefield, approximately 78% of the Federal I, II, IX, and XII Corps troops on the field participated in the battle. That left 22% on

other duties. I arbitrarily made that number 20% to approximate the frontage of those brigades for which I only had estimates of the number present.

Pettigrew's Division fell into that category. The purpose was to establish the approximate lengths of the front line brigades to see how they coincided with the traditional maps and interpretations of the front. To make the frontages even more precise, I deducted the numbers of men Harrison and Busey specifically identified as being on skirmish and also deducted another 10% from Brigadier General J. Johnston Pettigrew's men to account for one company from each regiment being on skirmish also. Once I arrived at the estimated numbers on line I used Jack Coggins' formula (*Arms and Equipment of the Civil War*) for frontage: number of men divided by number of ranks, times two foot frontage per man. This means, for example, that one thousand men advancing in two ranks would have a frontage of one thousand feet ($1,000 \div 2 = 500$; $500 \times 2 \text{ ft.} = 1,000 \text{ ft.}$).

The first line, consisting of Kemper's, Garnett's, Fry's, Marshall's, Davis', and Brockenbrough's Brigades would have stretched at least 5,613 feet. The second line—Armistead's, Lowrance's, and Lane's Brigades—would have covered about 3,283 feet (see Table 1). The frontages of the various brigades calculated in this way coincided with the National Park Service markers on the battlefield.

Cemetery Ridge lay seven-tenths of a mile away. The left flank of the front line, had the march gone due east, would have struck the Federal line just north of Cemetery Hill at the intersection of the Taneytown and Emmitsburg Roads. The right flank

“General, I am ruined; my division is gone—it is destroyed.”

—Major General George E. Pickett



should have hit Plum Run Creek bottom several hundred yards northeast of the Trostle farm. Nowhere, in any of my research, did I find any reference to the Copse of Trees being the focus of the attack or any directives for any brigade to deliberately flank or wheel north to strike the Copse of Trees. By following the fence between Pickett's and Pettigrew's Divisions, the center of the charge shifted toward Cemetery Hill north of the Copse of Trees. It only turned sharply southeast when the left wing of the Confederate forces struck the Emmitsburg Road. The fence row and the road determined the direction of the assault, not the Confederate generals. Brigadier General James Kemper never received any initial instructions to oblique to Brigadier General Richard Garnett's support. Had he not been ordered to close to the left on the top of Rogers hill, he would have continued east behind his own skirmishers.

What I did find, however, were indications that morale within the attacking divisions seemed lower than I had been taught. The problem is that most accounts of the battle come from men who completed the charge and returned to their own lines, or who were captured within the Federal lines. Only two recollections come from men who were wounded before or during the attack and did not complete it. I found no stories from uninjured line officers or men who did not complete the charge. Their silence spoke louder than any surviving evidence. I could not attribute the dearth of information to the belief that too few men survived the charge to leave behind a representative sample of reminiscences. The casualty returns clearly show that 55% of Major General George E. Pickett's Virginians came away

from the battle unhurt, while Pettigrew and Major General Isaac Trimble escaped with 57.9% and 70.2% of their men uninjured, respectively. At first, it did not make sense that the overwhelming majority of battle recollections came from the smaller of the two groups. The more I investigated the matter and mulled over the problem, however, the more I realized how selective memories of momentous events in history become with the passage of time. Who would write about not taking part in the charge because they were too scared to do so? Who would leave to history their account of how they turned about and walked to the rear rather than commit what appeared to be mass suicide? How would history, and, in particular, their families at home, judge their manhood if they mentioned succumbing to sunstroke, panic, or to the sobering reality that living was better than dying? Why is it that we have found so little fault with the Northern soldiers at Cold Harbor who refused to charge to their

It used to be said that 15,000 men took part in Pickett's charge. In recent years the number has been revised down to perhaps 11,500. Here, Mike Priest argues the actual number was nearer 6,000. I suspect this article will set off a lively debate! Ed.

Above: Pickett's charge from a position on the Confederate lines looking toward the Union Lines. Ziegler's Grove on the left, Copse of Trees on right. Oil painting by Edwin Forbes. *Library of Congress*

certain deaths, yet cannot admit that maybe Lee's veterans of the Army of Northern Virginia made the same choice at Gettysburg? What evidence exists to indicate that a considerable portion of unwounded Confederates decided that July 3 was not a good day to die?

Quite a number of the men thought it would be their last day. Orderly Sergeant Junius Kimble (Company A, 14th Tennessee), having surveyed the open ground between the two ridges, muttered to himself what many men felt that day. Half aloud, he said, "June Kimble, are you going to do your duty today?" After swearing to God that he would, he stepped back into his regiment. His lieutenant, Pembroke S. Roberts, asked him how it looked: "Boys," he responded to those around him, "if we have to go, it will be hot for us, and we will have to do our best."¹ Private Wiley Woods (Company F, 1st Tennessee), who did not expect to survive the ordeal, told Sergeant Stant Denson (Company A) to take the colors from his hands if he went down.² Captain Thomas J. Cureton (Company B, 26th North Carolina) and his friend, Captain Samuel P. Wagg (Company A), went out on the ridge to study the line of advance. Cureton did not like what lay before them, "...not even a hill to protect a charging line from artillery....The ridge we occupied was splendid for defense." He dreaded leaving its protection.³ So did a great many of the North Carolinians.

Shortly before the charge began, Captain Robert A. Bright, one of Pickett's aide-de-camps, walked in on a conversation between Pickett and Colonel George T. Gordon (34th North Carolina). Known as "English" Gordon, the former British officer had known Pickett before the war. In Bright's presence, Gordon emphatically told the general, "Pickett, my men are not going up to-day." But, Gordon," Pickett insisted, "they must go up; you must make them go up." "You know, Pickett, I go as far with you as any other man, if only for old acquaintance sake, but my men have until lately been down at the seashore, only under the fire of heavy guns from ships, but for the last day or two they have lost heavily under infantry fire and are very sore, and they will not go up to-day."⁴

In Brigadier General Richard Garnett's Brigade, Major Edmund Berkeley (8th Virginia) buried a poker deck

rather than go into battle and risk being killed with the cards in his possession. He had carried them at Fredericksburg, where he had felt much safer.⁵ Farther to the right front, Brigadier General James Kemper's brigade hunkered down along the western base of the hillside paralleling the Emmitsburg Road. Colonel Joseph C. Mayo, Jr. (3rd Virginia) noticed how ominously quiet his men had become. "Still and thoughtful as Quakers at a love feast" is how he described their silence. He expressed his concern about the men's morale to Colonel Waller Tazwell Patton (7th Virginia). "This news has brought about an awful seriousness with our fellows, Taz." "Yes," Patton replied, "and well they may be serious if they really knew what was in store for them. I have been up where Dearing is [on the first ridge east of Spangler's

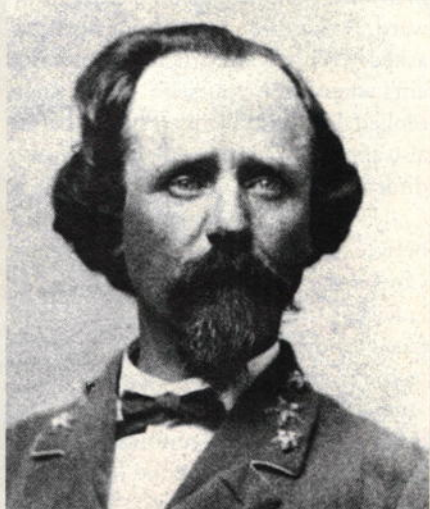
Woods] and looked across at the Yankees."⁶ A short time afterward, General Lee rode up behind the brigade, where he found Lieutenant General James Longstreet and Major General Pickett sharing the shade of an apple tree with other officers. Captain James R. Hutter (Company H, 11th Virginia) distinctly heard Longstreet tell Lee that "...his command would do what any body of men on earth dared to do, but no troops could dislodge the enemy from their strong position." Pickett interjected a comment to the contrary, at which Lee told Longstreet to "ask the men if they can dislodge them."

Longstreet ordered Hutter to take a couple of companies to the top of the ridge south of Spangler's lane to study the Federal position. Hutter, with Captain Thomas Horton (Company B), took their



two companies up to the Emmitsburg Road. The veterans took one look at Cemetery Ridge, then began shaking hands with each other. They were saying good-bye. One of the enlisted men said, "Boys, many a one of us will bite the dust here to-day, but we will say to General Lee if he wants them driven out we will do it."⁷ None of them could admit to Lee that they did not want to go into the charge.

The artillery attack and the excessive heat caused a considerable number of casualties, most of which were never fully documented. Kemper's Brigade,



with its right flank exposed to a pair of Federal 10-pounder parrotts on Little Round Top, took a terrible beating during the attack. Captain Hutter and Lieutenant John Dooley (Company C, 1st Virginia) both noted that quite a few men had either passed out from sunstroke or had fallen quite ill before or while the brigade stood up to make its attack.⁸ Farther to the north in Brigadier General Joseph Davis' Brigade, Lieutenant William H. Peel (Company C, 11th Mississippi) noted how gray the men's faces looked.⁹ They could not conceal their fear.

No sooner had the attack got under way, than it began unraveling. Garnett, despite a previous directive to guide to the left on Colonel Birkett D. Fry's Brigade, headed southeast as his men went over the first ridge east of Spangler's Woods. Pickett had personally to tell him to put his flank on the fence on his left.¹⁰ That movement pulled his men on an oblique that, as casualties occurred, widened the gap between his brigade and Kemper's. At no time during the charge, prior to reaching the Emmitsburg Road, did Pickett's men bunch up. Nearly every Federal account of the charge refers to how the Confederates maintained the

prescribed military formations (see Map 1).

Colonel John M. Brockenbrough took the 40th and the 22nd Virginia Regiments from the left of his brigade after leaving instructions for the remaining two regiments, the 47th and the 55th Virginia, to follow him in under Colonel Robert M. Mayo. The colonels commanding those regiments spent quite a few minutes trying to find the misplaced Colonel Mayo, only to hear that he had been killed during the cannonade. They led the right wing of the brigade into the battle at a healthy distance behind the rest of their division. (Mayo was not dead; he just could not be found. He later wrote a report about his regiments' roles in the fighting.)¹¹

The Federal artillery opened fire on Garnett's Brigade as it topped the second ridge and the Confederates halted to negotiate the worm fence across their line of march. Having advanced about 270 yards, they lost approximately forty men here.¹² The incoming artillery rounds and the heavy small arms fire which they were receiving from the Northerners immediately to their front in the vicinity of the Codori farm disrupted their line. Lieutenant Nathaniel W. Wood (Company A, 19th Virginia) continually cautioned his men to remain steady, to close up, and not to return fire.¹³ As the line continued onward, men began turning about and walking rearward, wounded and uninjured alike, heading back to Seminary Ridge.

That same Union artillery shattered Colonel James K. Marshall's Brigade as it started up the gentle slope of the second hollow and headed toward the Bliss orchard. Pickett, who saw the rout, sent two of his aides, Captain Edward R. Baird and Lieutenant W. Stuart Symington, into Marshall's dissolving formation to rally it. Simultaneously, he dispatched Captain Robert Bright back to Spangler's Woods to tell Longstreet he would need reinforcements to hold Cemetery Ridge once he got there.¹⁴ Symington and Baird failed miserably as the panic spread further north. The demoralized soldiers streamed around the two officers. Sym-

Table 1

MEN ON LINE AT START

Front Line

PICKETT'S DIVISION:

Kemper 1,781 - 100 skirmishers = $1,681 \times 84\% = 1,412$ on line
Garnett 1,851 - 62 skirmishers = $1,789 \times 84\% = 1,502$ on line

PETTIGREW'S DIVISION

Fry $900 \times 80\% = 720 \times 90\% = 648$ on line
Marshall $1,205 \times 80\% = 964 \times 90\% = 868$ on line
Davis $1,143 \times 80\% = 914 \times 90\% = 823$ on line
Brockenbrough $500 \times 80\% = 400 \times 90\% = 360$ on line.

$1,412 + 1,502 + 648 + 868 + 823 + 360 = 5,613$ on line for a
1.06 mile long line on or parallel to Seminary Ridge.

Second Line

PICKETT'S DIVISION

Armistead $2188 \times 80\% = 1750$ on line. (No skirmishers)

TRIMBLE'S DIVISION

Lowrance $840 \times 80\% = 672$ on line. (No skirmishers)
Lane $1076 \times 80\% = 861$ on line. (No skirmishers)

$1,750 + 672 + 861 = 3,283$ feet on line (.62 mile).

Above: Brigadier General Joseph Davis. Opposite: Pickett receives the order to charge from Longstreet. Library of Congress

ington snatched at the colors of the 47th North Carolina and succeeded in ripping it from its staff. (He mistakenly thought they belonged to the 11th North Carolina.)¹⁵ The rout reached Brigadier General Joseph Davis' Brigade. Lieutenant Peel (11th Mississippi) heard something he had never believed necessary among the Army of Northern Virginia, officers and sergeants having constantly to admonish the men, "Steady, boys." Part of the brigade streamed away from the line. Pettigrew ordered his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant William W. Shepard, into their ranks to stop them. He failed.¹⁶ The 7th North Carolina on the right of Brigadier General James A. Lane's Brigade, about 150 yards to the west, leveled their bayonets but the refugees skirted around their brigade.¹⁷ Major J. McLeod Turner (7th North Carolina) believed the fleeing men came from Brockenbrough's Virginia Brigade, but the Virginians were too far to the north to have run back into the North Carolinians. They had to have come from Marshall's and Davis' Brigades.



Brigadier General Richard Garnett.
Library of Congress

**The field was full
of dejected soldiers...
probably Garnett's and
Armistead's men.**

What is clear is that by the time Pettigrew's men reached the eastern side of the Bliss orchard, the division's front had shrunk at least six hundred feet. In closing to the south to maintain its formation, the division's left, not counting

Brockenbrough's meandering Virginians, who did not go much beyond the Long Lane, stopped at the east-west bend in the Long Lane. George Stewart's maps in *Pickett's Charge* (1959) shows Pettigrew's Division marching in two battle lines, with Trimble's Division in a "third line," while still maintaining the traditional one-mile frontage. Had the regiments advanced in such a formation, their line would have been only half the length. Nowhere did I find records of the North Carolinians' line being doubled-up in this fashion. Rather, they advanced in the prescribed single battle line formation, and continued to advance with the fence north of the Bliss farm lane marking the left end of their line.

By the time Garnett crested the third ridge, about 530 yards east of Spangler's Woods, Kemper was closing his ranks at the base of Rogers hill (see Map 2). Captain William W. Bentley (Company E, 24th Virginia), on the right end of the line, said his regiment closed to the left about the distance of a regiment before fronting (facing east).¹⁸ The move, which placed the 11th Virginia north of Spangler's farm lane and due west of the Rogers House, covered about 500 feet. This means that Kemper had lost at least 500 men before he even started forward. Considering that he lost only 678 men during the entire fight, and that 341 of those were captured and wounded and captured between the Emmitsburg Road and the Angle, many of those earlier "casualties" were either victims of sunstroke or were men who had simply refused to advance.¹⁹ When Kemper's Virginians, in formation, passed over the Floridians on the crest of the hill, they came under a horrific artillery fire. One of the Virginians collapsed on top of Adjutant James B. Johnson (5th Florida). Was he wounded? the lieutenant asked. "No, sir, but I can't go forward. I know I am disgracing my family, but I can't go." At that, Johnson punched the fellow in the shoulder with his sword hilt and told him to roll off of him and go to the rear. The rattled Virginian asked him where it was. The adjutant pointed west while the soldier stripped off his accouterments and raced pell-mell for safety.²⁰

Back on the first ridge east of Spangler's Woods, Major James Dearing had watched Garnett's men trickling from the ranks since the attack began.²¹ This movement was quite evident to

Captain Robert Bright, who had taken the shortest route back to the woods to find Longstreet. On the way, he encountered a large squad of disheartened soldiers, whom he assumed were North Carolinians, walking back towards Seminary Ridge. They could not have been North Carolinians. He was on the south side of the fence, which separated the North Carolinians from the Virginians and heading father south—away from Pettigrew and Trimble. The men, therefore, must have been Virginians.

Bright halted the group and asked them to right about and assist the brave men who were carrying the charge forward. "What are you running for?" he asked. "Why, good gracious, Captain, ain't you runnin' yourself?" one of them replied. Bright suddenly realized that he also appeared to be heading in the wrong direction.

He found Longstreet in the hollow between Seminary Ridge and the silent Confederate artillery position. The general was sitting on the fence on the north face of the woods, staring into the trees to the south. After exchanging military amenities, Longstreet let the captain deliver his request for reinforcements before asking, "Where are the troops that were placed on your flank?" "Look over your shoulder and you will see them," Bright replied. Longstreet calmly twisted to the left, looked east, and said nothing. At that moment, Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Fremantle, of the British Coldstream Guards, spurred to a halt behind him. "I wouldn't have missed this for anything!" he exclaimed. "The devil you wouldn't," Longstreet snapped back. "I would liked to have missed it very much! We've attacked, and been repulsed. Look there!" Fremantle shifted his eyes to the east. The field was full of dejected soldiers walking toward them. It seems probable they were Garnett's and Armistead's men. To have seen the North Carolinians, the general would have to have turned completely around. "Captain Bright," Longstreet added, "Ride to General Pickett and tell him what you have heard me say to Colonel Fremantle." Bright later noted that at that time Pickett's Division had not yet reached the Emmitsburg Road (see Map 2).²²

While Bright was looking for Pickett, Garnett's Brigade had encountered six companies of stubborn skirmishers from the 69th, 72nd, and 106th

MAP 1

200 PM-215 PM

The Charge enters the first swale



ESTIMATED CO

← Losses Before Reaching the Emmitsburg Road

1200 1100 1000 900 800 700 600 500 400 300 200 100 OFF

Brigades of Pettigrew's & Trimble's Divisions

(Regiments Listed from North to South)

Lowrance's Brigade

38th NC - 13th NC - 34th NC - 22nd NC - 16th NC

Lane's Brigade

33rd NC - 18th NC - 28th NC - 37th NC - 7th NC

Fry's Brigade

5th AL Bn - 7th TN - 14th TN - 13th AL - 1st TN

Marshall's Brigade

11th NC - 26th NC - 47th NC - 52nd NC

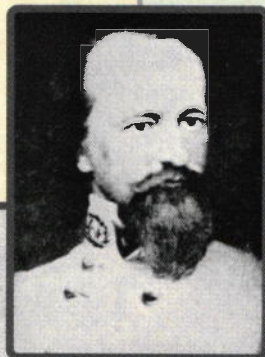
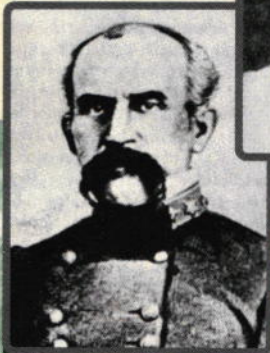
Davis' Brigade

55th MS - 2nd MS - 42nd MS - 11th MS

Brockenbrough's Brigade

55th VA - 47th VA - 40th VA - 22nd VA

Trimble



Pettigrew

Pender's Division: Major General Isaac R. Trimble

Lane's Brigade: Brigadier General James H. Lane

7th North Carolina - Major John McLeod Turner
18th North Carolina - Colonel John D. Barry
28th North Carolina - Colonel Samuel D. Lowe
33rd North Carolina - Colonel Clarke M. Avery
37th North Carolina - Colonel William M. Barbour

Scales' Brigade: Colonel Lee J. Lowrance

13th North Carolina - Captain William B. Robinson
16th North Carolina - Captain Leroy W. Stowe
22nd North Carolina - unknown
34th North Carolina - Lieutenant Colonel George T. Gordon
38th North Carolina - Captain William L. Thornburg

Confederate Order of Battle ⁴⁰ July 3, 1863

LONGSTREET'S CHARGE

Pickett's Division:

Major General George E. Pickett

Garnett's Brigade: Brigadier General Richard B. Garnett

8th Virginia - Colonel Eppa Hunton
18th Virginia - Lieutenant Colonel Henry A. Carrington
19th Virginia - Colonel Henry Gantt
28th Virginia - Colonel Robert C. Allen
56th Virginia - Colonel William D. Stuart

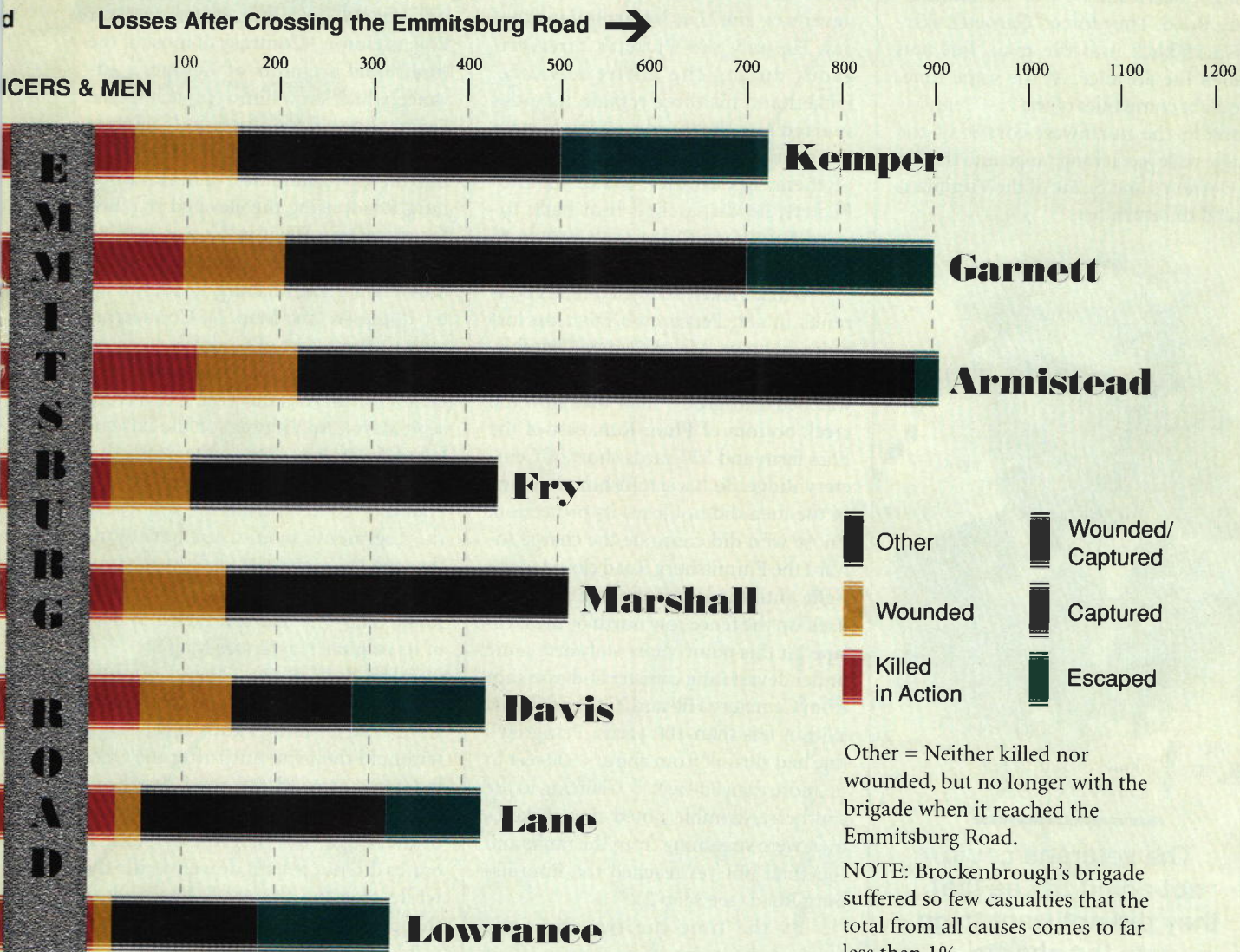
Armistead's Brigade: Brigadier General Lewis A. Armistead

9th Virginia - Major John C. Owens
14th Virginia - Colonel James G. Hodges
38th Virginia - Colonel Edward C. Edmonds
53rd Virginia - Colonel William R. Aylett
57th Virginia - Colonel John B. Magruder

Kemper's Brigade: Brigadier General James L. Kemper

1st Virginia - Colonel Lewis B. Williams
3rd Virginia - Colonel Joseph Mayo, Jr.
7th Virginia - Colonel Waller T. Patton
11th Virginia - Major Kirkwood Otey
24th Virginia - Colonel William R. Terry

CONFEDERATE LOSSES



Heth's Division: Brigadier General James J. Pettigrew

First Brigade - Colonel James K. Marshall

- 11th North Carolina - unknown
- 26th North Carolina - Major John T. Jones
- 47th North Carolina - Lieutenant Colonel John A. Graves
- 52nd North Carolina - Lieutenant Colonel Marcus A. Parks

Second Brigade

Colonel John M. Brockenbrough

- 40th Virginia - Captain T. Edwin Betts
- 22nd Virginia Battalion - Lieutenant Colonel Edward P. Tayloe

Colonel Robert M. Mayo

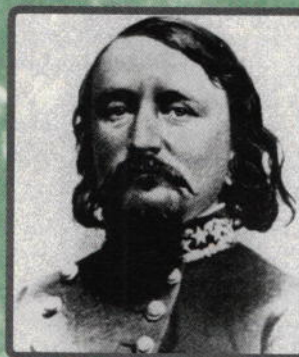
- 47th Virginia - Lieutenant Colonel John W. Lyell
- 55th Virginia - Colonel William S. Christian

Third Brigade - Colonel Birkett D. Fry

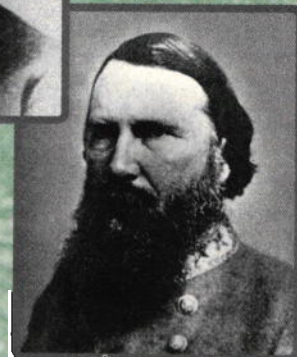
- 13th Alabama - Colonel Birkett D. Fry
- 5th Alabama Battalion - Major A. S. Van De Graaf
- 1st Tennessee Provisional Army - Lieutenant Colonel Newton J. George
- 7th Tennessee - Colonel John A. Fite
- 14th Tennessee - Lieutenant Colonel James W. Lockert

Fourth Brigade - Brigadier General Joseph R. Davis

- 2nd Mississippi - not known
- 11th Mississippi - Colonel Francis M. Green
- 42nd Mississippi - Lieutenant Stephen Moore
- 55th North Carolina - Lieutenant George A. Gilreath



Pickett



Longstreet

Pennsylvania Regiments, who had built a slight barricade west of the Emmitsburg Road. They forced Garnett's skirmishers back into the main line and stalled the advance. At the same time, the eight companies of the 71st Pennsylvania at the northwest corner of the Angle volleyed at long range into the left of Garnett's line. Some of the Virginians halted to return fire.²³



Colonel Birkett D. Fry
Library of Congress

The veterans could not admit to Lee that they did not want to go into the charge.

Seeing the problem from the high ground around the Rogers House, and realizing that he had to close the tremendous gap in the line between himself and Garnett, Kemper flanked his brigade north into the hollow on the southern flank of the Federal skirmishers. Pickett personally rode up to Colonel Joseph Mayo (3rd Virginia) on the left of the brigade line and ordered him to close on Garnett at the double quick. From there, the general galloped to the eastern face of the hillside behind Garnett's men, who were pressing the Federals back.

Halfway into the charge, Mayo watched Pickett descend into the low ground between the last ridge and the Emmitsburg Road, from where he then saw a large group of men about face and surge toward the rear. He later insisted they were North Carolinians,

but they were not. Kemper, who was there at the time, testified that he never saw any North Carolinians that day. He only saw Pickett's three brigades during the entire advance. Pickett and his three remaining aides spurred into the throng, trying to stem the rout. They failed. Turning to one of them, his brother, Major Charles Pickett, he dispatched him back toward Seminary Ridge with orders to find Longstreet.²⁴

While Pickett struggled to keep his ranks intact, Pettigrew's Division lost more frontage. Major General Trimble, while riding in front of his own division watched Pettigrew's men dive into the creek bottom of Plum Run, east of the Bliss farm and 530 yards short of Cemetery Ridge. To his astonishment, many of the men did not leave its protection. Those who did continue the charge toward the Emmitsburg Road closed to the right until the left of the line anchored itself on the fence row north of the farm lane. At this point, those stalwarts came under devastating canister and case shot from Cemetery Hill and Ziegler's Grove. Within less than 100 yards, Pettigrew's line had shrunk from about 1600 feet to no more than 800 feet.²⁵ Glancing to the southeast, Trimble noted that Pickett's men were streaming from the ranks and they had not yet reached the Emmitsburg Road (see Map 2).²⁶

By the time the two divisions reached the point of no return, their combined fronts had been reduced to about 2,200 feet. Pettigrew's line stretched from the northern side of the Bliss farm lane to a point about 800 feet to the south—a loss of 1899 feet of line that amounted to a 70% reduction in force. Garnett's left flank connected with Fry's right and his right extended another 750 feet to a point about half way across the front of the orchard north of the Codori farm. The fence on the north side of the orchard separated Companies A, B, C, and E on the right of the 18th Virginia and the 8th Virginia from the rest of the brigade. Colonel Eppa Hunton (8th Virginia) clearly stated that his regiment, on the extreme right of the brigade, was in the Codori orchard.²⁷ Garnett's frontage had shrunk 50% by the time he reached the Emmitsburg Road. Kemper, who had connected with his left, continued the line for about another 650 feet. (This estimate takes into

account his initial shrinkage of about 500 feet and the severe casualties his men had suffered on the hilltop in front of the Rogers House.) Contrary to most of the traditional accounts of Kemper's advance, which show him approaching the Federal lines in a northeasterly oblique approach, he actually had flanked left into the low ground west of the Emmitsburg Road, using the elevated roadbed for protection. That is, he was moving in a northeasterly direction prior to crossing the Emmitsburg Road, not after doing so (see Map 2). Connecting with Garnett west of Codori's, he faced to the right and marched across the Codori farm from due east. Colonel Joseph Mayo (3rd Virginia) on the extreme left of the brigade stated quite clearly that his regiment passed through the orchard. Had they come in from the southwest, the regiments would not have gone through the orchard at all.²⁸ By the time Kemper's men crossed the Emmitsburg Road, their line had contracted to 38% of its original length (see Map 3).

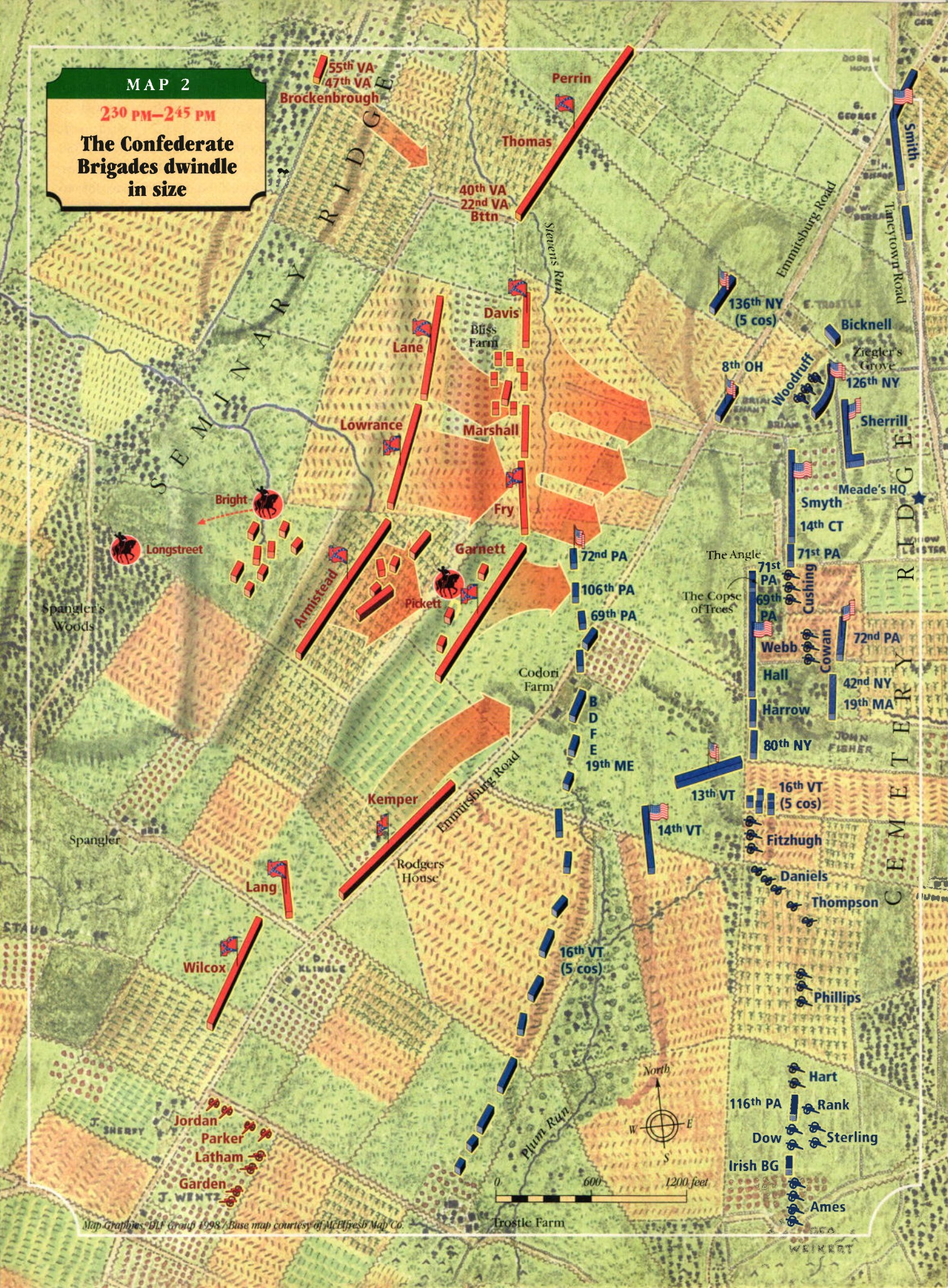
The bulk of the Federal infantry along Cemetery Ridge and Lieutenant Alonzo H. Cushing's guns at the Angle withheld their fire until after the Confederates crossed the road and came to within sixty feet of the forward wall of the Angle. The first line of Confederates did not get cut down by rifle fire while crossing the road. The bulk of the casualties occurred between the road and the ridge.

Most of Pettigrew's casualties occurred between Stevens Run and the stone wall. The majority of Garnett's and Kemper's casualties were incurred from the Emmitsburg Road to the west wall of the Angle. Fry, Marshall, and Davis had 839 officers and men captured, which amounted to 53% of their casualties. Garnett and Kemper's captured amounted to 54% of their casualties. The front line lost 3,413 feet of frontage before it reached the killing ground around Bliss's farm and the Emmitsburg Road. Those five brigades lost 3,168 officers and men, total casualties during the entire charge, which would have accounted for a shrinkage of less than 3,000 feet of their combined fronts. Yet, their reduced lines by the time they got to Bliss's and the Emmitsburg Road show that they had to have lost at least 245 casualties more than they suffered during the entire fight *before* they

MAP 2

230 PM-245 PM

The Confederate Brigades dwindle in size



came under any severe fire. When the majority of their losses were incurred in the immediate vicinity of the Emmitsburg Road and the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge, and not before the regiments struck the road, the only conclusion to draw is that a great many of the men did not participate in the final attack.



Brigadier General James H. Lane
Library of Congress

"My brave boy, if I had an army like you this would not have happened."

—Robert E. Lee

The most convincing confirmation of this assertion came from Longstreet and Lee during the aftermath of the charge. As Fry's battered survivors staggered back to Seminary Ridge, Lee rode down to rally them. Spying Sergeant Billy Young (Company I, 7th Tennessee) the commanding general ordered him to rally what remained of the division. The sergeant screamed at the defeated soldiers to stop where they were. When they did not comply, he went into a rage and knocked a few down with his rifle butt. Failing in that, he walked back to Lee, who, in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel B. Shepard (7th Tennessee), leaned over, patted the boy on the shoulder, and said, "My brave boy, if I had an army like you this would not have happened." Young accepted it as the compliment it really was, without ever realizing that the commanding general had, in the same sentence, accused his own men of letting him down. At that mo-

ment, Lee gave voice to the realization that his supposedly invincible army had not behaved as he had expected it to.

Within a minute, Lieutenant John H. Moore (Company B, 7th Tennessee) approached Shepard. He was very angry. "Colonel, if them damned fellows hadn't broke on the right we could have held that ridge," he exclaimed.²⁹

Perhaps one of the most moving images from the traditional rendition of the aftermath occurred when Lee encountered the distraught Pickett near the southern end of Seminary Ridge. Lee rode up to Pickett, who was also mounted, and told him to reform his division, to which Pickett tearfully replied that he had no division. At that point, the story usually ends. Pickett, however, left the area and rode to the northern edge of Spangler's Woods, where he found Longstreet. In the presence of Private William Youngblood, a courier from the 15th Alabama, Pickett cried, "General, I am ruined; my division is gone—it is destroyed." Longstreet, unflappable as ever, matter-of-factly told his division commander that things were not as bad as he believed. In a few hours, Longstreet reassured him, he would be able to find an impressive number of his men.³⁰

Had the Confederate line maintained its original frontage, it might well have broken the II Corps line along a much more extensive front, but the victory would probably have been short lived. The VI Corps could have closed in on its flank and rolled it up, much like the Confederates destroyed Sedgwick's II Corps division at the West Woods at Antietam. The casualties would have been devastating.

Of the estimated 11,500 officers and men who started the charge, about 5,000 in regulation battle lines reached the Emmitsburg Road (perhaps another thousand had already been killed or wounded). The brigades in the first line got hit with devastating small arms fire at ranges varying from 60 feet (Garnett) to around 225 feet (Pettigrew). The second line brigades under Lane, Lowrance, and Armistead walked into overshots as they approached the road and had to advance in the face of shells which could no longer be directed at the front line regiments. Their fronts had also been greatly reduced before they reached the road. Their regiments were the ones that the Federals shot to pieces in the road.

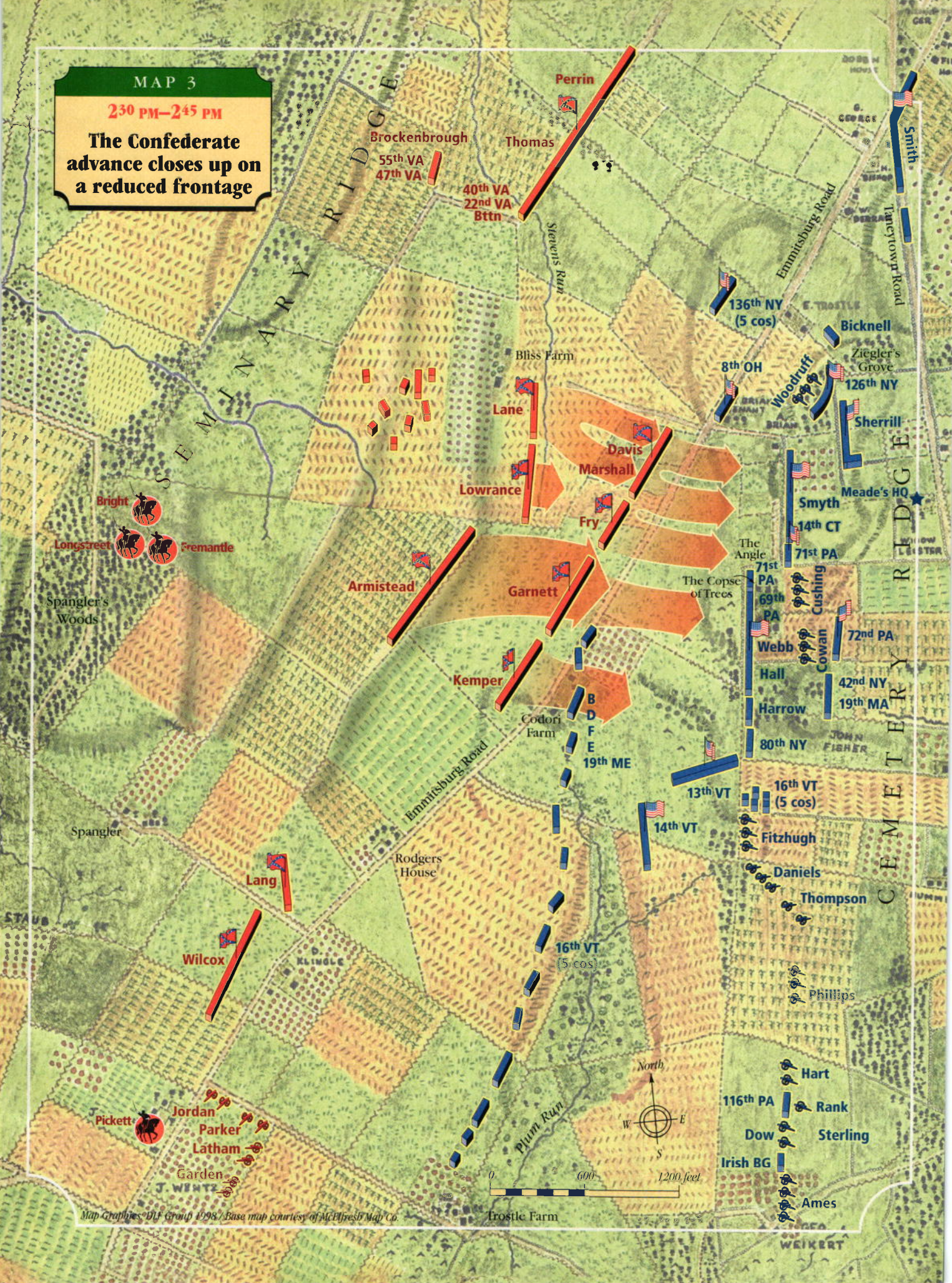
The Federals decimated those 5,000 stalwarts who carried the assault to the Emmitsburg Road and beyond. The three Confederate divisions lost altogether 801 killed, 1,237 wounded, 1,234 wounded and captured, and 1,530 captured, for a total of 4,802 casualties. While it would be nearly impossible to ascertain precisely where the killed and wounded fell, because they were hit during the artillery bombardment and throughout the entire charge, one can identify where the captured and the disabled and captured were found. Pettigrew's and Trimble's captured were taken between the branch of Plum Run which flowed north to south east of the Bliss farm house and the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge west of Brian's orchard. Pickett's captured were lost from the Emmitsburg Road to Cemetery Ridge (see Map 4).

The combined numbers of the wounded captured and unwounded captured (discounting Brockenbrough's 3 captured) accounts for 55% of the 5,000 who attempted to carry the charge to its end. The bulk of the small arms and canister fire occurred between the Emmitsburg Road and the Angle, with the initial volleys being delivered at very close range. It seems reasonable to assume that not less than 50% of the dead and wounded fell in the last several hundred yards, particularly in Pickett's three brigades, because they did bunch up directly west of the Angle to escape the Vermonters closing in on their southern flank. Given that premise, they probably lost another 1,020 killed and wounded during the last stages of the charge (see charts). Casualties among the men who crossed the Emmitsburg Road ranged from approximately 53% for Lowrance's Brigade to 100% for Fry's and Marshall's Brigades (so few of their men escaped uninjured that the numbers did not equal a percentage point). Armistead lost about 98% of his stalwarts between the road and the Angle. Overall, of the 5,000 who attempted to complete the charge, no more than 20%, and perhaps less, returned to their own lines. The fact that 1,527 of them (30%) surrendered indicates that they knew when not to press the odds any further. When faced with annihilation or living, they chose to live. Had that same percentage of losses been inflicted on the original 11,484 officers and men, the

MAP 3

230 PM-245 PM

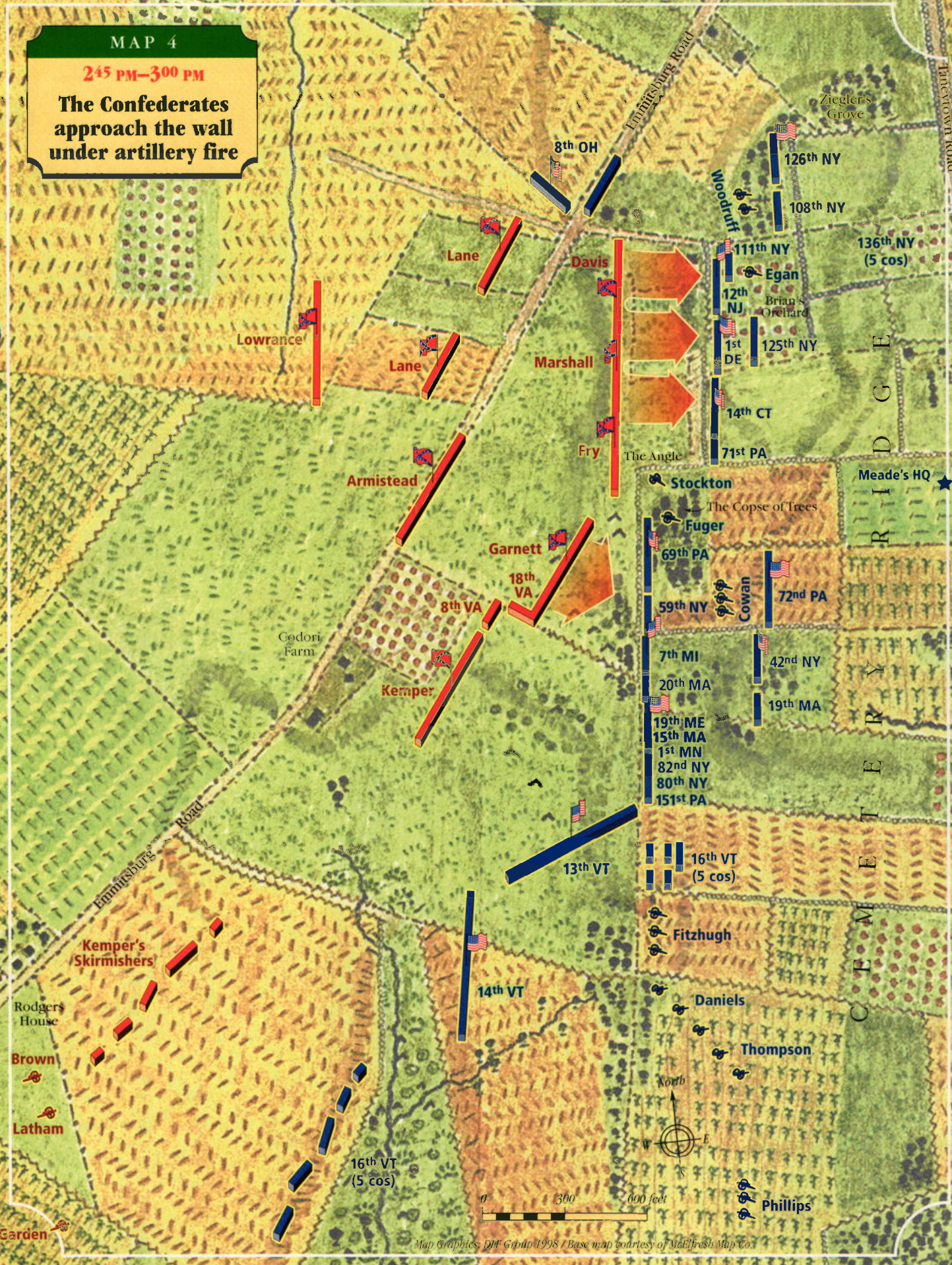
The Confederate advance closes up on a reduced frontage



MAP 4

245 PM-300 PM

The Confederates approach the wall under artillery fire



Army of Northern Virginia would have left Pennsylvania desperately demoralized and crippled.

I did not realize how deeply we held on to our heroic, romanticized impressions of the charge until I took my Civil War class on a tour of Gettysburg. As we walked along the stone wall south from the Brian barn, I upset one of the student's parents when I explained how the Confederates on part of the line lay down and put their hands over the backs of their heads rather than stand up and get slaughtered. The parent would not believe that the Confederates did not go down fighting. He could not understand why they would surrender rather than die fighting. He thought they were cowards. My father, a Marine Corps veteran of Guadalcanal, taught me more about combat than I ever learned in history books. "I'd rather be a live coward than a dead hero," he used to say while watching the old World War II movies. He talked

about being pinned down under fire and being too scared to move.

Why is it that we think we are less courageous than our ancestors were? Human beings can only endure so much punishment before they take matters into their own hands and say enough is enough. Pettigrew's and Trimble's Divisions had been horribly mauled during the fighting on July 1. When Colonel Gordon said his men would not go in, he meant it. Pickett chose to brush it aside. When the men from the 11th Virginia surveyed the Federal lines in Lee's presence and shook hands to say goodbye, they had already assessed their chances of survival. Veterans have always made decisions on their own when they were asked to achieve what they deemed impossible. They are the ultimate pragmatists. They will fight as long as they believe they have a reasonable chance of winning or surviving. On that fateful July day, many of Pickett's, Trimble's, and Pettigrew's men decided to live to fight another day. I cannot fault them for making that decision.

J. MICHAEL PRIEST teaches at South Hagerstown High School, Maryland. His Book *Into the Fight: Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg* is about to be published by White Mane Publishing. He has ten previous books on the Civil War to his credit.

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1. June Kimble, "Tennesseeans at Gettysburg: the Retreat," *Confederate Veteran*, XVIII, 460.
2. Wiley Woods, "The First Tennessee Flag at Gettysburg," *Confederate Veteran*, Battles, 1861-1932, n.d., Box 1, Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.
3. Janet B. Hewett, et al., *Supplement to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing, 1995), Pt. 1, Vol. 5, p. 430.
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5. Edmund Berkeley, "Rode With Pickett," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVIII, 175.

Table 2: Confederate Infantry Strengths and Casualties

BRIGADES						CASUALTIES	
PRESENT	KIA	WIA	WIA/CIA	CIA	TOTAL	PERCENT	
PICKETT'S DIVISION							
Kemper ³¹	1,781	114	223	214	127	678	38.1
Garnett ³²	1,851	181	213	286	225	905	48.9
Armistead ³³	2,188	196	199	333	329	1057	48.3
Total	5,820	491	635	833	681	2640	—
Percentage Divisional Casualties:		8.4%	10.9%	14.3%	11.7%	45.3%	—
PETTIGREW'S DIVISION							
Fry ³⁴	900	51	163	—	321	535	59.4
Marshal ³⁵	1,205	69	137	248	156	610	50.6
Davis ³⁶	1,143	119	207	—	114	440	38.5
Brockenbrough ³⁷	500	1	3	—	3	7	1.4
Total	3,748	240	510	248	594	1592	—
Percentage Divisional Casualties:		6.4%	13.6%	6.6%	15.9%	42.5%	—
TRIMBLE'S DIVISION							
Lane ³⁸	1,076	60	65	113	143	381	35
Lowrance ³⁹	840	10	27	40	112	189	22.5
Total	1,916	70	92	153	255	570	—
Percentage Divisional Casualties:		3.7%	4.8%	8%	13.3%	29.8%	—

Total Present/Engaged: Pickett: 5,820; Pettigrew: 3,748; Trimble: 1,916 — **Total:** 11,484 officers and men

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17. Letter, J. McLeod Turner, 7th North Carolina, October 10, 1877 as printed in the *Raleigh Observer*, November 30, 1877.
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23. David L. Ladd and Audrey T. Ladd, ed., *The Bachelder Papers*, 11, p. 967; Letter, Samuel Roberts Major, 72nd Pennsylvania, August 18, 1883; G. W. Finley, "The Angle," *Buffalo Evening News*, May 29, 1894, p. 7; H. T. Owen, "Pickett at Gettysburg," *Philadelphia Times*, NPS clippings, Vol. 6, p. 9.
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27. Letter, Eppa Hunton to John W. Daniel, July 15, 1904, Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC; H. T. Owen, "Pickett at Gettysburg," *The Philadelphia Times*, NPS clipping, Vol. 6, p. 9.
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29. F. S. Harris, "From Gettysburg," *Lebanon Democrat*, August 10, 1899.
30. William Youngblood, "Unwritten History of the Gettysburg Campaign," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, (XXXVII:317)
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33. *Ibid.*, 466.
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35. *Ibid.*, 192; Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865 - A Roster* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History), V: 6, p.105; VI: pp. 415-601; XII: pp. 415-521; XX: pp. 244-63.
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“I’ll Be Damned If I Ever Surrender”

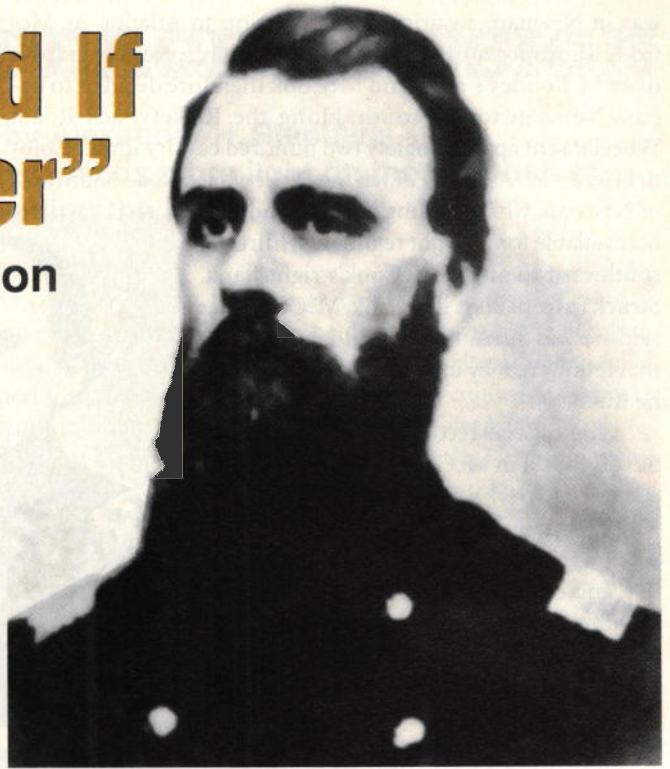
How Colonel Thomas J. Harrison Saved McCook’s Raid

“The principle office of history I take to be this: To prevent virtuous actions from being forgotten, and that evil words and deeds should fear an infamous reputation with posterity.” —Tacitus

BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD MOODY MCCOOK, of the famous “fighting McCooks of Ohio,”¹ ran out of fight on Saturday, July 30, 1864, near Newnan, Georgia, at the critical moment of his celebrated raid. When he found his escape route blocked by two regiments of Wheeler’s cavalry and his right flank assaulted by eight more regiments, McCook prepared to surrender; however, the capitulation did not occur. A brave officer’s courageous action dramatically changed the situation, and as a result McCook became a hero and not a failure.

McCook came to face this decisive turning point in his career as a result of being placed in command of a raid which was part of Major General William Tecumseh Sherman’s larger strategy conceived to bring Atlanta to surrender. By July of 1864, Sherman’s forces had surrounded Atlanta except for the southern approaches. The last vital links of supply which remained for Atlanta and defending General John Bell Hood were the Macon and Western Railroad, the Atlanta and West Point Railroad (the two merged south of Atlanta at East Point), and the Macon Road. Sherman, wanting these strategic arteries cut, ordered a two-pronged attack. One prong would be McCook’s 1st Cavalry Division made up of the 1st Brigade under Colonel John T. Croxton; the 2nd Brigade under Lieutenant Colonel William H. Torrey; and the last minute addition of a provisional division which Colonel Thomas Jefferson Harrison (second in command to McCook) led; plus a small artillery battery.² According to Sherman’s orders, McCook’s division was to proceed west of Atlanta and then south to Lovejoy’s Station, there to cut the railroad “in the most effectual manner”³ for up to five miles. Meanwhile, the other prong, which Major General George Stoneman would lead, was to circle around the east of Atlanta and then proceed south to rendezvous with McCook near Lovejoy’s Station. Stoneman requested of Sherman that once the destruction of the railroad was complete, he and McCook be allowed to continue to Macon and Andersonville to free Federal prisoners. Sherman found in Stoneman’s request “something most captivating.”⁴

McCook’s raiding detail departed from its camp on the northeast side of the Chattahoochee River, near the Chatta-



Colonel Thomas J. Harrison (National Archives)

“If not for Lieutenant Jacob Ziegler’s record ... the courageous stand of a heroic officer would forever be forgotten.”

hoochee Bridge southeast of Marietta, on Wednesday morning, July 27, 1864. The column crossed the Chattahoochee River near Rivertown by way of a pontoon bridge on Thursday, July 28, and began moving southeast. The raiders first tore up track of the Atlanta and West Point Railroad at Palmetto Station, then on Friday, July 29, they chanced upon one of Hood’s wagon supply trains at Fayetteville. According to McCook’s report, he burned 1,160 wagons, killed or disabled 2,000 mules, destroyed 1,000 bales of cotton and sacks of corn, and took 400 prisoners. Having destroyed the supply train, McCook’s raiders continued to Lovejoy’s Station where they burned the depot and tore up two and one-half miles of the Macon and Western Railroad and five miles of telegraph line.⁵ McCook then waited for a glory-seeking Stoneman who, unbeknownst to McCook, had veered from his orders and ridden straight to Macon. After shelling Macon, Stoneman’s division was forced to withdraw because half of Wheeler’s cavalry came in pursuit. Wheeler sent the other half of his command to intercept McCook. Stoneman’s column was surrounded and forced to surrender to Wheeler, and, with his men, Stoneman became an inmate in the very prison he had so vaingloriously hoped to liberate.⁶

All the while, McCook and his men waited at Lovejoy’s Station concerned and confused, for having completed their task of destruction, they had received no word of Stoneman. Eventually, McCook surmised that Stoneman was not going to make the rendezvous and so began a cautious withdrawal of his raiders to the southwest, towards Newnan and the Chattahoochee River. McCook hoped to take refuge in Newnan

as he fled westward from Lovejoy's Station, but a brigade of dismounted cavalry under Brigadier General Phillip Roddey was in Newnan, awaiting transportation to Atlanta. As McCook's advance units entered Newnan, they were driven from town by Roddey's men, and McCook therefore decided to bypass Newnan to the south, along the Ricketyback Road. Wheeler sent approximately two hundred cavalry under Colonel Henry M. Ashby to block the Ricketyback Road southwest of Newnan, while sending the remainder of his available force (eight regiments), directly southward to attack McCook's right flank. Struck in front and right flank, McCook later said he was surrounded, and in the melee that followed, may indeed have believed that he was.⁷

The official record of what happened next is found in McCook's reports to his superiors. McCook's first report was on August 3 to Sherman:

I was finally completely surrounded, and compelled to abandon everything that would impede me in order to cut my way through. I ordered Colonels Croxton and Torrey to cut through with their brigades. I took Colonel Jones with me and got through 1200 men by a charge in column, and crossed the river below Franklin.⁸

McCook subsequently made a more complete report on August 7 to Brigadier General W. L. Elliott, chief of cavalry:

After cutting the Macon railroad at Lovejoy's Station, I found that General Wheeler's command was between me and the point (McDonough) where I had expected to communicate with General Stoneman . . . I determined to return to the Chattahoochee by way of Newnan . . . Near Newnan the railroad and telegraph were cut in three places . . . I was surrounded by an overwhelming force; . . . I attacked at once, hoping to break their line and reach the Franklin road and the river . . . I found I could not hold the advantage gained, or get through their line in any ordinary manner. I then ordered Colonel Croxton, commanding my First Brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Torrey, commanding my Second Brigade, to cut their way through, strike some road leading south, and endeavor to reach the Chattahoochee at the nearest point and cross . . . reports . . . will show you how well their brigades accomplished my design. Lieutenant Colonel Jones, Eighth Indiana, with his own regiment, the Fifth Iowa, and part of the Second Indiana and Fourth Tennessee, remained with me, cut a way through in the midst of a most terrible fire, and crossed the river at Philpot's Ferry, below Franklin . . . They all got through safely. Colonel Brownlow, First Tennessee, and Major Star, Second Kentucky, also brought detachments through . . . I regard the raid as a brilliant success, and had the forces of

General Stoneman been able to unite with mine near McDonough, as I understood was contemplated by the general commanding the military division, I think we might have successfully carried our arms wherever desired . . . I conclude my report by expressing gratitude to the kind Providence which enabled me, through the gallantry of my brave men and faithful officers, to extricate my command from the perils which surrounded it, and to bring them back, not only in safety, but crowned with success.⁹



Was McCook's reputation inflated?

Left: Brigadier General Edward Moody McCook. Below: Confederate cavalry commander Major General Joseph Wheeler (National Archives)

The major facts of McCook's reports were soon being repeated all along the military chain of command. Sherman, on August 3, made this report to Major General H. W. Halleck, chief of staff:

He [McCook] could hear nothing of General Stoneman . . . he moved south and west and reached Newnan, on the West Point road, where he encountered an infantry force coming from Mississippi to Atlanta . . . This force with the pursuing cavalry hemmed him in and forced him to fight. He was compelled to drop his prisoners and captures, and cut his way out, losing some 500 officers and men, among them a most valuable officer, Colonel Harrison . . . He [McCook] cut his way out, reached the Chattahoochee, crossed, and got to Marietta without further loss. *General McCook is entitled to much credit for this saving of his command . . .*¹⁰

Next is this report of Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Jones made to Captain LeRoy, Assistant Adjutant-General, 1st Cavalry Division, on August 4:

. . . I was ordered to report in person to General McCook, who informed me that Colonel Harrison was missing and that [I] should succeed to his command; that our position was completely enveloped by a vastly superior force of the enemy, and he announced his intention of breaking through the enemy's lines in two columns, one of which was to be led by Colonel Croxton, who was to go out first, the other led by myself, and to leave the field last.¹¹

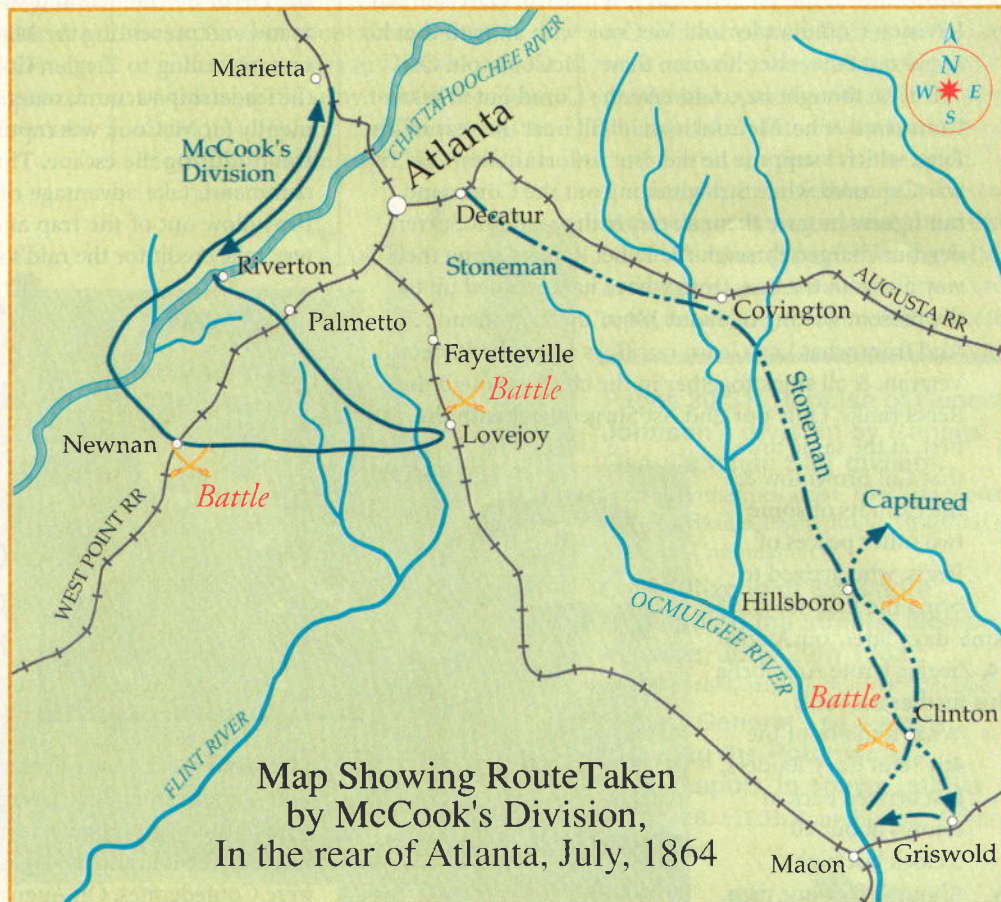
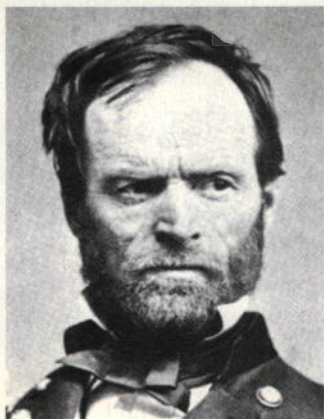
On September 13, Major General George H. Thomas, commander of the Army of the Cumberland, mentioned McCook in his report to Lieutenant Colonel R. M. Sawyer, Assistant Adjutant General, Military Division of the Mississippi:

. . . McCook . . . finding he could not break their line permanently, directed his brigade commanders to cut

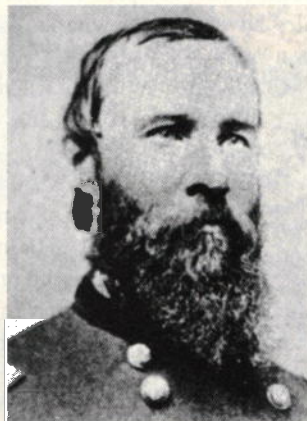
their way out with their commands and endeavor to cross the Chattahoochee by detachments. In this they were successful, but with the loss of their artillery.¹²

These reports, all giving McCook the credit for saving his entrapped command, became the accepted chronicle of the chaotic events which transpired that Saturday near Newnan. The passing of years only cemented McCook's reputation as the commander whose courage saved the Macon Raid, which Stoneman's glory-seeking had essentially ruined, from being

a total calamity. Subsequently, histories of the Atlanta Campaign have perpetuated this official version. This includes Albert Castel's recently published *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*.¹³ Although the official records have been generally accepted as the true version of the heroic exploits of McCook's Raid, it now appears they did not record the full truth. Information found in two recently discovered contemporary letters challenges the traditional account of McCook's Raid.



Map Showing Route Taken by McCook's Division, In the rear of Atlanta, July, 1864



Word of McCook's heroism was swiftly passed up the chain of command.

Top: Major General H. W. Halleck, center: Major General W. T. Sherman, above left: Major General G. H. Thomas, and above right: Brigadier General W.L. Elliot (National Archives)

In the summer of 1960, two teenage brothers found the personal letters of Second Lieutenant Jacob Ziegler in the attic of the old Ziegler home northeast of Athens, Tennessee. The letters were eventually consigned to storage, their value unrealized, until the fact of their existence was made known to this author in the summer of 1990. During the examination of the entire cache of letters, it became apparent that in two of the letters Ziegler, who served in the Union's 4th Tennessee Cavalry Volunteers, recorded such a critically different view of McCook's Raid that a complete reassessment of McCook and his raid were called for.

The two letters are dated August 5 and August 14, 1864, and in them Ziegler provides an immediately-after-the-event account of the events of McCook's Raid. Ziegler, serving as one of his unit's quartermasters, was on assignment to Vinings Station collecting rations for his battalion when the raid occurred. He returned to camp just as the first stragglers from the raid were arriving. Ziegler reported information which fellow members of his unit related to him about the course of the battle and their narrow, harrowing escape.

In the August 5 letter to his wife Annabella, written from his camp at Chattahoochee Bridge, Ziegler wrote:

... [McCook's command] commenced their retreat but was overtaken... by a Superior Cav force & headed by a large force of infantry which they faught awhile. When McCook preparid a flag of truce to Surrender the entire Command. Upon hering that the Commanders of Several detachments of Regts took their Comds and left in a perfect Stampede, amongst them was Col J. Brownlow of the 1st Tenn Cavy. While Col Harrison our Division Commander told McCook with an oath that he could not Surrender his men there. McCook told Col "H" if he thought he could take the Comd out to take Command & he, McCook would fall in at the rear of his Regt, which I suppose he did. But unfortunately Col "H" was Captured while Straightening out the Command. but I guess he gave them a Start & they did not Surrender. but charged through the Rebel Ranks Cuting their way out with the loss, from what I have reamed up to the present writing of about 1/4 of the Command... And from what I can learn our Boys acted the Perfect Veteran, & all stuck together in the charge though the Rebel ranks. Only our 2nd Ast Surgeon left with the first, at the same time that Col Brownlow & the Comdts of some two other peaces of Regts, who arrived to bring the first news...¹⁴

Nine days later, on August 14, Ziegler wrote Annabella this further account:

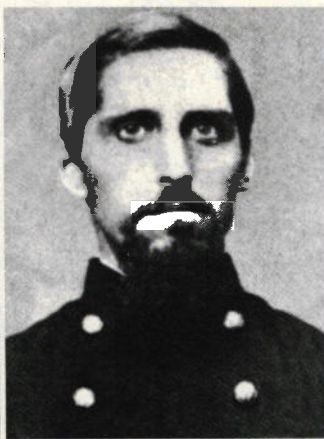
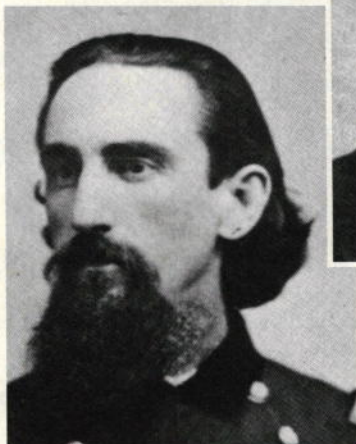
What remains of the 4th Tenn Cavy Raiders, Just arrived back at Camps about 10 o'clock last night... About 200 of our men went... on a raid

under Gen McCook which resulted disasterously to the little Command of about 2500, about 100 of our best men are lost they Stuck together and fought like Veterans along side of the 5th lowah whiped an the Reb Cavalry & charged through their infantry & cut their way out while most of the ballance of the Division Sacattered off uppon Gen McCook Saying he was going to Surrender.¹⁵

These two letters portray a very different McCook than the one recorded in the *Official Records*. Not only did he not originate the heroic order to his command to "cut their way through," as is claimed in his official report; instead he was ready to surrender his whole command, even to the point of preparing and displaying a white flag. Also of critical interest is the confrontation between McCook and his subordinate, Colonel Harrison. Taken together, the following points indicate a serious failure of leadership on McCook's part: first, that McCook allowed Harrison to overrule him in a manner bordering on insubordination; next, that his other brigade commanders also refused to follow him into surrender, preferring to follow Colonel Harrison's plan of striking out on their own to escape their

desperate situation; and finally, that McCook relinquished his command to his subordinate officer, Colonel Harrison, and then followed his lead from the rear.

The soldiers returning from the raid must have vividly recounted to Lieutenant Ziegler their versions of the event, and Ziegler naively reported them to his wife. But the version Ziegler recorded is blatantly at odds with the accepted version preserved in the *Official Records*. For if Ziegler's record is correct, it drastically challenges the reputation of General McCook and the credit he claimed and was accorded for saving his command and preventing the Macon Raid from being a total failure. According to Ziegler, Colonel Harrison stepped in to fill the leadership vacuum, reorganized the command, but conveniently for McCook was captured while personally leading the troops during the escape. This allowed McCook to reassume command, take advantage of Harrison's momentum, follow Brownlow out of the trap and, upon returning to headquarters, take credit for the raid's success.



"The loss of Harrison... is a severe one."

Left: Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Jones
(National Archives)

Croxton requested permission to cut his way out.

Opposite: Colonel J. T. Croxton
(National Archives)

What collaborative evidence exists to support Ziegler's version of the events? First, pertaining to McCook's intended surrender, there are no fewer than four accounts which support Ziegler's version, and it is significant that two of these witnesses were Confederates. On August 1, Brigadier General L. S. Ross, commander of Ross's Texas Brigade, and part of Wheeler's Cavalry Division at Newnan, made this report to Brigadier General William H. Jackson of Jackson's Division:

I received orders to move to the left and get in rear of the enemy, and had no sooner done so than a considerable force (including the Eighth Iowa Regiment) signified by flag of truce their willingness to surrender. The remaining and by much the larger portion of the enemy, however, began moving off on the Decatur road, in a direction opposite our position.¹⁶

The Eighth Iowa was part of McCook's First Brigade which Colonel Croxton commanded, and Brigadier General Ross had seen a white flag raised somewhere within this pinned-down force. But, even as he observed the white flag, he also noted that a sizable portion of the Union forces, that under Harrison, was already on the fly. A second Rebel witness was George B. Guild, a soldier in the Confederate cavalry at Newnan, who confirmed this sighting in his *Brief Narration of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment* (1913): "Fighting took place in several places on the field. A white flag was displayed..."¹⁷

Witnesses from the Union side include Colonel James P. Brownlow, son of William G. "Parson" Brownlow the famous

Tennessee Unionist, and the first officer to return to camp. Brownlow provided headquarters this report of August 1, which assumed surrender:

At 5 p.m., seeing that the division would be overwhelmed and compelled to surrender, General McCook gave permission for the commanding officers to save themselves, if possible. I cut the line with 600 men... I do not think any other attempts were made to escape. My opinion is that General McCook surrendered at dark; I am not certain of this fact.¹⁸

Thirty-eight years later, W. R. Carter, a soldier in Company C of Brownlow's First Tennessee, remembered the desperate situation and McCook's dispirited talk of surrender in his *History of the First Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry*:

McCook, finding his position completely enveloped by a vastly superior force, and when the day seemed lost and all hope of escape abandoned . . . spoke of their calamity and the prospect of being made prisoners...¹⁹

All of these witnesses, Rebel and Union, support Ziegler and testify to the state of McCook's mind: he had given up and had even prepared and displayed a white flag. But, if this was the situation, what happened to the surrender?

A perfect Stampede?

Colonel James P. Brownlow
(National Archives)



MCCOOK'S IMMINENT SURRENDER was prevented when Colonel Thomas J. Harrison, speaking for his fellow officers, offered a blunt alternative. According to Ziegler, Colonel Harrison, second in command and commander of his own provisional division, told McCook "with an oath" he was not prepared to surrender. W. R. Carter detailed the same encounter in his history this way:

McCook, finding his position completely enveloped by a vastly superior force, and when the day seemed lost and all hope of escape abandoned, called a council of his brigade and regimental commanders to decide what to do. McCook spoke of their calamity and the prospect of being made prisoners, when Colonel Brownlow remarked that he would be d—d if he would ever surrender. "What," said McCook, "will you do? How can you help it?" "Why," said Brownlow, "I can and will cut my way out. I would about as soon be killed in the attempt as to be sent to Andersonville or Libby. They treat Southerners worse in those prisons than they do you Northern men, and I am going to cut my way out if my men will follow me."²⁰

Carter's recollection of the meeting of McCook's staff officers substantially supports Ziegler's version. The major difference is Carter has Colonel James Brownlow as the chief protagonist in the drama. However, at this juncture several important points must be considered. First, Carter wrote from the distant perspective of 38 years, while Ziegler recorded the event only six days later. In his preface, Carter freely acknowledged an imperfect memory, "I do not claim that the work is entirely

free from error . . ." ²¹ Secondly, Carter's pride in his own regiment and its commander probably colored his memory of Brownlow's importance. Further, it is doubtful General McCook would have taken such abusive advice from a 27-year-old minor colonel, much less have relinquished command to him so readily. Colonel Harrison, on the other hand, was second in command and already responsible for his own division. Lastly, Brownlow became a brigade commander only after his superior, Colonel Croxton, was separated from his troops during the breakout. Brownlow, in his August 5 report, stated:

. . . when Colonel Croxton, commanding the brigade, received orders from General McCook to cut his way out and move south . . . [he] soon became lost from his brigade . . . I assumed command and moved in the direction of the river.²²

Brownlow's statement shows it was not he but Croxton who received the general's orders at the officers meeting, which means Brownlow was in all probability either not there or was only an observer. Consequently, it appears Ziegler's account is more reliable than Carter's and, therefore, it is Colonel Harrison who deserves the credit for saving the raid and not McCook or Brownlow.

What then, considering the new insights Lieutenant Ziegler's letters provide, actually happened on July 30, 1864, near Newnan, Georgia? The following

reconstruction incorporates the new information.

General McCook, after General Stoneman failed to meet him at Lovejoy Station at the appointed time, began a cautious retreat towards Newnan where a large force of Confederate cavalry penned his command. With the arrival of Wheeler's main force, McCook thought he and his men were surrounded. After an attempt to break out of the trap failed, McCook lost his will to fight and made ready to surrender. The general ordered a white flag prepared and displayed even as he met with his officers and told them of his intent. Whereupon, his second in command, Colonel Harrison, a Kentuckian with a healthy fear of confinement at Andersonville, countermanded his order. Harrison, adamantly voicing the general will of the officers present, told McCook, "I'll be damned if I ever surrender" and proposed a courageous alternate plan.

McCook relinquished command to Harrison. The other officers requested permission to follow Harrison, to which McCook consented and said he would fight a delaying action and then bring up the rear. Harrison immediately reorganized the command and led the effort to break the encirclement, with Colonel Croxton and Lieutenant Colonel Torrey following. In the ensuing melee, Harrison was captured, Torrey was wounded, and Croxton became separated from his column. Their men, suffering heavy casualties, fought their way out. Colonel Brownlow assumed command over Croxton's brigade and led them through, also with heavy losses. When it was reported that Harrison was missing and possibly dead, McCook resumed command, placed Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Jones over what was left of Harrison's brigade, and with Jones guarding

his rear, took what was left of his command into the gap Harrison had forged, and escaped the encirclement.

That these changes in the Union command and objectives confused the Confederates was to be expected. Uncertainty is evidenced in the report of Confederate Brigadier General L. S. Ross, who acknowledged both the white flag and the movement of federal forces away from the entrapment, but went on to say that all he did was report the unusual movement to headquarters and then moved in to take control of prisoners and captured property. George Guild of Tennessee remembered a parley taking place during which "some five hundred of General McCook's men escaped."²³ The sudden charge from the Union forces, even as a white flag was flying, doubtless caused the Rebel forces great consternation and this helped open a brief window of opportunity which Harrison was able to exploit.

Once the pieces of McCook's division began returning to their base and reports of the debacle began to circulate, typical alterations of the facts began to occur. Brownlow's brigade, which was in advance of McCook's, was the first to break out and was the first to return to headquarters. Exhausted, tattered, and barefoot,²⁴ Brownlow and remnants of Croxton's regiment return to camp on August 1. Colonel Brownlow dutifully reports that McCook had surrendered and only he had escaped. In his initial August 1 report, Brownlow states that

McCook gave his officers "permission" to "save themselves, if possible."²⁵ Colonel John Croxton, in his August 20 report to Captain LeRoy, Assistant Adjutant-General, substantiates this view when he says that McCook "consented" to his request to follow Harrison's example and find his own way out.²⁶ However, on August 5 after McCook returned, Brownlow made a subsequent report in which he changes the tone of his first report and states that McCook "ordered" Colonel Croxton to "cut his way out" and ends with this sycophantic statement:

I embrace this opportunity of tendering the thanks of the First Brigade to General McCook for the brave and masterly manner in which he led us on this daring expedition, and did such good service in behalf of the Division of the Mississippi.²⁷

Eventually Croxton, Torrey, and McCook all returned with their badly mauled units. Only Harrison failed to return, being imprisoned at Macon. Lieutenant Colonel Fielder A. Jones commented upon the significance of Colonel Harrison's capture in his report of August 4, 1864: "Among the prisoners lost was Colonel Harrison, one of the bravest officers and best men in the service. His loss to us at this juncture is a severe one."²⁸

Once McCook was safely back at headquarters, it appears he took charge of "damage control" and issued a glowing report of the achievements of his raid without any mention of

Notes

1. Mark M. Boatner III, "McCook's of Ohio," *The Civil War Dictionary*, (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1991), p. 526.
2. The provisional division included the 8th Indiana, 2nd Kentucky, 5th Iowa, 4th Tennessee, and 9th Ohio. William David Evans, *McCook's Raid, July 27 - August 3, 1864*, (Athens: University of Georgia, unpublished masters thesis, 1976), pp. xii-xiv.
3. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, U.S. War Department, 1891), Vol. 38, Part 5, p. 75.
4. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 5, p. 76.
5. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 762.
6. Ronald H. Bailey, *The Civil War: Battles for Atlanta*, (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1989), p. 138.
7. Bailey, *Battles for Atlanta*, 138; Ned Bradford, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 520. See also the map of the Battle of Browns Mill, "The Great Cavalry Raid," *North & South*, Issue 2, p. 46.
8. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 762.
9. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, pp. 763-64.
10. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 5, pp. 339-40.
11. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 876.
12. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 1, p. 162.
13. The reader is directed to Shelby Foote's *The Civil War: A Narrative*; Bruce Catton's *The Civil War*; Bailey's *Battle for Atlanta*; Boatner's *The Civil War Dictionary*; Albert Castel's *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*; William Key, *The Battle of Atlanta and the Georgia Campaign*; Richard Harvell and Philip N. Racine, editors, *The Fiery Trail: A Union Officers Account of Sherman's Last Campaigns*.
14. Jacob Ziegler, Letter to his wife from Chattahoochee Bridge, August 5, 1864, pp. 1-2. Letter in possession of Dr. Paul Haynie.
15. Jacob Ziegler, Letter to his wife from Decatur, Alabama, August 14, 1864, pp. 1-2. Letter in possession of Dr. Paul Haynie (Harding University, Searcy, Arkansas).
16. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 3, p. 965.
17. George B. Guild, *A Brief Narrative of the Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment: Wheeler's Corps. Army of Tennessee*, (Nashville: no publisher, 1913), p. 70.
18. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 774.
19. W. R. Carter, *History of the First Regiment of Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry in the Great War of the Rebellion, with the Armies of the Ohio and Cumberland, under Generals Morgan, Rosecrans, Thomas, Stanley and Wilson: 1862-1865*, (Knoxville: Gaut-Ogden, 1902), p. 182.
20. Carter, *First Regiment*, 182.
21. Carter, *First Regiment*, 6.
22. *Official Records*, Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 775.
23. Guild, *Fourth Tennessee Cavalry Regiment*, 71.
24. "Report of Colonel J. G. Parkhurst to General W.

the surrender effort or of Harrison. His remaining subordinate officers, Croxton and Brownlow, fell in line and made no mention of the incident in their official statements. As for Harrison, he was eventually imprisoned with General Stoneman in Charleston, South Carolina, and was in no position to dispute anyone's account. While a prisoner of war, Harrison joined with General Stoneman and Colonel J. B. Dorr of the Eighth Iowa Cavalry in writing an impassioned letter to President Lincoln concerning the plight of the enlisted soldiers at Andersonville, Georgia. The three officers begged their commander-in-chief to send a relief expedition to free the "35,000 heroes" incarcerated there in unimaginable conditions. Private Prescott Tracy smuggled the letter out of prison and passed it to Union officials on August 19, 1864. No decisive action was taken.²⁹ Eventually, Harrison was paroled at Rough and Ready, Georgia, on September 28, 1864, but by then other events had seized the headlines and the Macon Raid with McCook's part in it were old news. Besides, Stoneman was already the scapegoat, and there was no interest in seeking another.

SO THEN, MCCOOK'S RAID PASSED into Civil War lore as a tale of a desperate fight for survival and a brilliant stroke of leadership which prevented the entire Macon Raid from being a complete disaster. Due to his glory seeking, Stoneman has received history's greater condemna-

tion, while McCook came through the ordeal with his reputation unscathed. The valiant Colonel Thomas J. Harrison, after his release from prison, his health broken, requested immediate release from the service, but was reassigned to Nashville to help train new cavalry units to fight Hood. Harrison spent this time recuperating on an extended leave. After Hood's defeat, he again applied to be relieved of his commission and was finally mustered out in May, 1865, as a brevet brigadier general.³⁰ After the war, Harrison, his wife and two children settled near Lester's Station in Pulaski County, Tennessee, where he established a cotton plantation, mill, general store, stone quarry, and lime business. In 1870, President Grant appointed Harrison U. S. Marshal for the Middle District of Tennessee, the post he was holding when he died. Harrison suffered from a weak heart; a condition which had developed during the years of exposure during the war, and died of a heart attack while conducting business in Nashville, Tennessee, on September 28, 1871.³¹ Harrison's remains were taken for burial to Kokomo, Indiana, his wife's home and where he had studied and practiced law.³²

As of this writing, there are no known official records or reports which give Harrison any official acknowledgment for the service he rendered in saving McCook's Raid, nor is there any evidence he in any public way contested the official version. The only official report which comes close to acknowledging Harrison is the *Report of W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General Indiana* (1869), in which the service records of each of Indiana's Civil War regiments is duly reported. Terrell's recounting of the 39th Indiana Regiment [later the 8th Cavalry] includes this laudatory assessment, "It [the 8th Indiana Cavalry] took part in the McCook raid around Atlanta, and was the only regiment that preserved its organization and made a charge on the enemy, routing him and opening the way for the escape of twelve hundred men of McCook's command."³³ This record is found on page 391 of Terrell's report while Thomas J. Harrison is listed as Colonel of the 39th Regiment on page 3. To associate these facts together meaningfully, the casual reader would have to be exceptionally alert.

Even upon Harrison's death, while there were obituary notices in the *Kokomo Tribune*³⁴ and *Kokomo Democrat*³⁵ praising him for his life of public and military service, there was no mention of his involvement in McCook's Raid. Twenty-eight years later the survivors of the Eighth Indiana Veteran Cavalry held their fourteenth annual reunion in Kokomo and had a special memorial service for their regiment's first commander. The Kokomo Grand Army of the Republic post was named for Thomas J. Harrison, but his grave at the time was unmarked.³⁶ Today, the city of Kokomo preserves the c. 1857 house Harrison was married in as its oldest house, and his grave has a proper monument. In all of these expressions of high esteem, there is no indication of any awareness of the courageous service Harrison performed that July day, with the enemy surrounding him and facing surrender at the hands of a demoralized superior, when he took the initiative, refused to surrender, and led his regiment to freedom.

If not for Lieutenant Jacob Ziegler's record of this dramatic event, preserved in long misplaced letters, the truth of the aborted surrender which saved McCook's Raid might not have come to light, and the courageous stand of a heroic officer would forever be forgotten.

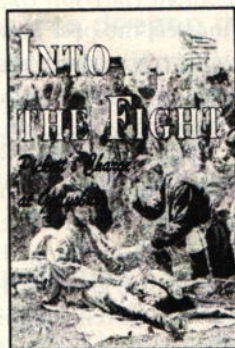
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| D. Whipple," <i>Official Records</i> , Vol. 38, Part 5, p. 323. Parkhurst also reports McCook as captured. | Tennessee, December 15, 1881; John W. Harrison, brother, personal affidavit, Clinton County, Indiana, July 27, 1881. All found in National Archives and Records Administration, General Reference Branch . |
| 25. <i>Official Records</i> , Vol. 38, Part 2, p. 774. | |
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| 28. <i>Official Records</i> , Vol. 38, part 2, p. 875. | 32. "The Death of Thomas J. Harrison," <i>Kokomo Tribune</i> , October 3, 1871. |
| 29. <i>Official Records</i> . Vol. 7, pp. 616-18. | 33. Terrell, W. H. H., Adjutant General, <i>Report of the Adjutant General of the state of Indiana</i> , Vol. 2 (Indianapolis: A. H. Connor State Printer, 1865, 1869), p. 391. |
| 30. <i>Special Field Order # 21</i> , November 27, 1864; Thomas Jefferson Harrison, <i>Request for Discharge</i> , February 16, 1865; both are in military service record: Washington D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, General Reference Branch. | 34. <i>Kokomo (Indiana) Tribune</i> , October 3, 1871; October 10, 1871. |
| 31. <i>War Department Affidavit</i> , #4151, August 4, 1880; <i>Physician's Affidavit</i> : Davidson County, | 35. <i>Kokomo (Indiana) Democrat</i> , October 5, 1871. |
| | 36. <i>Kokomo (Indiana) Daily Dispatch</i> , August 25, 1897. |

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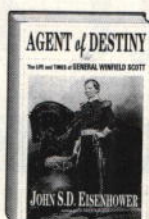
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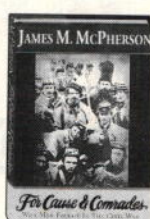
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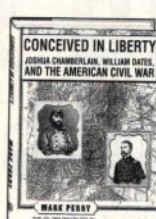
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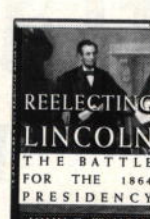
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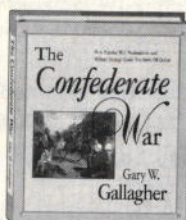
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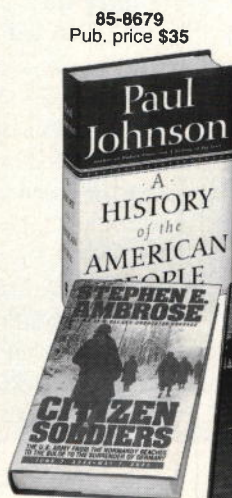
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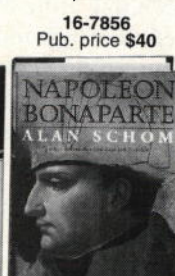
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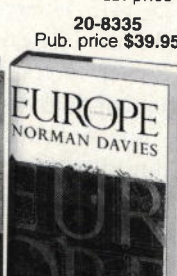
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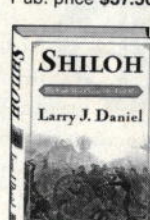
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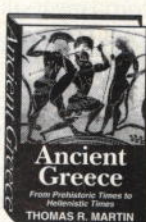
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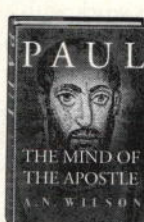
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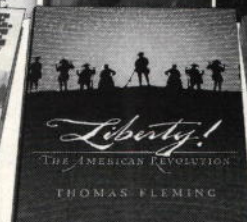
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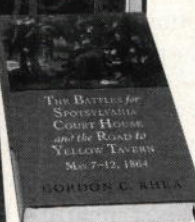
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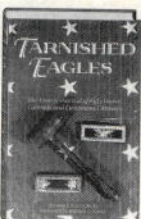
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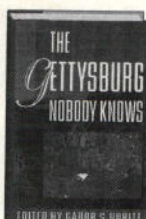
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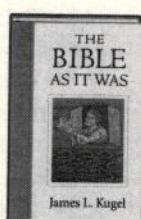
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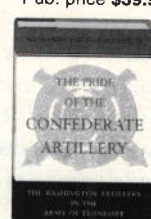
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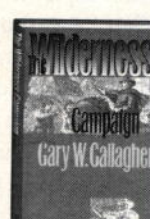
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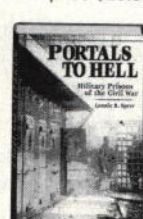
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England's Gift to the

BRIGADIER GENERAL



ON OCTOBER 25, 1415, Henry V's tiny army of bedraggled Englishmen defeated the large and heavily-armed French forces despite incredible odds. As immortalized by Shakespeare, the Battle of Agincourt has long been a symbol of British courage and determination in the face of dire circumstances. Perhaps it is this same spirit that is part of what endeared so many Englishmen to the Confederate cause. For years we have studied the impact of the War Between the States on Great Britain and the British perception of the southern cause. Most of us are familiar with Colonel Arthur Fremantle and the volume he wrote on his experiences as a foreign observer traveling with the Confederate army. Most scholars, however, do not know of another of Britain's sons who gallantly served the South. "He was most truly a knight; deferential, without being obsequious, to all, both high and low, he showed as the very pink of courtesy and mirror of knighthood in his association..." So wrote the *Lenoir Topic* on December 4, 1889, upon the death of General Collett Leventhorpe.

The Leventhorpes were prominent from early times. Brigadier General Leventhorpe's ancestors had moved from Yorkshire to Hertfordshire sometime during the reign of Richard II in the fourteenth century. During the reign of James I (of England, VI of Scotland), they were made barons and acquired prominent positions. One member of the family married Dorothy, sister of Jane Seymour, the third wife of Henry VIII; another member was an executor of Henry V's estate. On May 15, 1815, Collett Leventhorpe was born at Exmouth, in the county of Devon, England. The Leventhorpes and their other two children had relocated to this region to improve Mr. Leventhorpe's health.

As the son of a prominent English family, Collett had an excellent education. He studied at Winchester College until he reached the age of fourteen. For three more years, his education was directed by a private tutor. In 1832, William IV appointed Leventhorpe an ensign in the Fourteenth Regiment of Foot in the British army; the young Leventhorpe was then only seventeen. Military experience allowed him to see much of the growing British Empire. Leventhorpe was stationed

for three years in Ireland and in 1835 was stationed in the British West Indies. After several years of duty there, he spent a year in Canada but was not involved in the action of the Rebellion of 1837. By 1842, Leventhorpe had attained the rank of captain of grenadiers. In addition to his military travel, he had visited much of Great Britain and Europe during his leaves of absence.

In 1842, Leventhorpe, now twenty-seven-year-old, resigned from the army and started to attend medical school in England. In 1843, his work with a British company took him to Charleston, South Carolina, on a business trip. During this trip he traveled to Asheville, North Carolina, where he met his future wife, Miss Louisa Bryan, daughter of General Edmund Bryan of War of 1812 fame. The Bryans, from Rutherfordton, North Carolina, were vacationing in Asheville at the time of Leventhorpe's visit. In love, and considering that his \$1200 a year British army pension was not enough on which to support a wife, Leventhorpe attended the medical school in Charleston, South Carolina. Upon his graduation, Leventhorpe was awarded the college's silver cup, the highest honor the school gave to a student. Collett and Louisa were married on April 1, 1849, and lived as prominent members of the community in Rutherfordton, North Carolina, for many years. Rutherfordton, located in western North Carolina, flourished after gold had been discovered in the area and a mint established in 1831. Leventhorpe practiced medicine and had some interest in the town's gold mines. He applied for citizenship on April 10, 1847, and gained his naturalized citizenship on August 8, 1849.

North Carolina seceded on May 20, 1861; Leventhorpe, now forty-six, joined with his adopted people in their struggle for independence. His was a fervor unmatched by many. As a result of his British service, he was probably one of the best trained and equipped regimental field officers in the eastern armies. Leventhorpe was commissioned colonel of the 34th North Carolina Regiment on October 25, 1861. The 34th was raised from the Rutherfordton area and was placed in camp around Raleigh. Leventhorpe's experiences as an officer in the British army gave him valuable tools as he trained his inexperienced men. Under his command, the regiment soon became a disciplined fighting force. While Leventhorpe was in the Raleigh area, he was given command of two other regiments: the 33rd and the 37th. In the spring of 1862, the 34th was assigned to defend Roanoke Island at Hamilton and to guard against the attacks of Union gunboats that threatened the Weldon Railroad bridge.

Michael C. Hardy

Michael Hardy is an assistant librarian at Caldwell Community College, Boone, North Carolina. He has written for *Civil War News*, and the *Camp Chase Gazette*, and is currently working on a book on the 37th North Carolina Infantry.

Confederacy:

COLLETT LEVENTHORPE

On April 4, 1862, Leventhorpe was elected colonel of the 11th North Carolina Regiment, formerly known as the First "Bethel" Regiment of D. H. Hill. He again brought his British training to this regiment. In fact, when the 11th was inspected and incorporated into the Army of Northern Virginia, the inspector general reported to General Robert E. Lee that the unit was the best drilled, equipped, and armed in the army. The 11th had been stationed in Wilmington at Camp Davis for three months. During this time, the unit underwent the most severe drilling of any troops in the Confederacy. Reveille was at daybreak, company drill at six a.m., guard mounting at eight a.m., squad drill at nine a.m., battalion drill at eleven a.m., company drill again at one p.m., another battalion drill at three p.m., and dress parade at five p.m. The constant drill paid off, and the regiment worked like a machine, its evolutions as accurate as clockwork. One day Leventhorpe dismissed the regiment with the compliment: "Not quite as proficient as British regulars."¹ At their first dress parade together, Leventhorpe drew his sword and "Eleventh!" came in the most powerful voice anyone had ever heard. A laugh from the men greeted the strong voice, but the laugh was never heard again. Sergeant John Wood of the 11th stated: "Soon every officer and man knew that he had met his friend when in distress, and his commander when on duty. Love and respect took the place of indifference, and from then until now none of his soldiers have named him but with love and honor."²



Brigadier General Collett Leventhorpe
National Archives

**"We few, we happy few, we band of
brothers: For he to-day that sheds his
blood with me Shall be my brother"**

—William Shakespeare, *Henry V*

again relieved of their duties, this time by Brigadier General Roger Pryor. They returned to North Carolina, where they served in a small force under Brigadier General B. H. Robertson.

On December 12, Leventhorpe, with the 11th, was ordered to White Hall in an attempt to stop an advance of Union troops under Major General John G. Foster. On the sixteenth, the powerful Union forces had taken the town and sent a force up the south side of the Neuse River. The Confederate forces under General Robertson, with four regiments and a section of artillery, arrived first and burned the bridge before the Union troops could advance. The 9th New Jersey and Colonel Thomas J. C. Armory's brigade were sent forward and posted on the banks of the river. This left the Federals in an exposed position, while the Confederates were screened by a growth of underbrush, the fall colors of which matched those of their own uniforms. However, the Confederates' battle line soon gave way. General Robertson, in his official report, stated:

I immediately ordered Col. Leventhorpe forward. The alacrity with which the orders were obeyed by his men gave ample proof of their gallant bearing, which they so nobly sustained during the entire fight which raged with intensity for several hours after they had become engaged. No veteran soldier ever fought better or inflicted more terrible loss upon the enemy considering the numbers engaged. It was with great difficulty that they could be withdrawn from the field. Three times they did drive the Yankee cannoneers from their guns and as often prevented their infantry regiments from forming a line in their front. In spite of the four hostile regiments whose standards waved from the opposite bank, did these brave men continue to hold their ground, and finally drove the enemy in confusion from the field. More than one hundred of their dead and wounded were left upon the river bank. The conduct of this regiment reflects the greatest credit upon its accomplishments and dauntless commander. The soldierly qualities displayed by Colonel Leventhorpe on the march and during the action, to which I can bear witness, strongly recommend him to favorable consideration of the authorities.³

A**FTER THE ENGAGEMENT OF WHITE HALL,** Leventhorpe and the 11th became part of Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade and spent the next three months in Goldsboro, Weldon, Magnolia, and Greenville. The 11th was at this time reported to be the best drilled regiment in the service of the Confederate States. In fact, they were so well drilled that they were banned from drilling contests! From Greenville, Leventhorpe and the 11th took part in the expedition of Major General D. H. Hill against Washington, North Carolina. Leventhorpe's men showed their mettle by preventing Brigadier General Francis B. Spinola's command, consisting of three brigades of infantry, plus artillery and cavalry, from re-enforcing the garrison of Washington. In early May, the regiment was hurried to Richmond to meet Stoneman's raid and to protect the railroads and bridges of the North and South Anna Rivers. From there, Leventhorpe and the 11th went to Hanover Junction, then in early June to

Fredericksburg. As part of Pettigrew's Brigade, the 11th was assigned to Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. It was in this fashion that the 11th continued until the end of the war.

At Gettysburg, on July 1, Pettigrew's Brigade made a charge against the Union forces on McPherson's Ridge. Major General Henry Heth wrote in his official report: "The Eleventh North Carolina, Colonel Leventhorpe commanding ... displayed conspicuous gallantry, of which I was an eye-witness, and the whole brigade fought as well and displayed heroic courage as it was ever my fortune to witness on a battlefield."⁴ It was during this charge that Leventhorpe was severely wounded, so severely that when Lee withdrew on July 4 to return to Virginia, Leventhorpe was left behind. Without any anesthetics, the Union doctors cauterized his wounds with nitric acid. Leventhorpe was first hospitalized at Fort McHenry near Baltimore, but by early 1864, he had been transferred to Point Lookout, Maryland. Many of his friends and acquaintances in Britain made deposits in his name in a New York bank, and Leventhorpe was able to purchase needed supplies for himself and fellow prisoners. After nine months, Leventhorpe was exchanged around March 10, 1864, resigned his commission on April 27, and returned to Rutherfordton. He was unable to return to the 11th because of his wounds and wrote to Governor Zebulan B. Vance from his home, relating his experiences since being wounded.

Governor Vance then commissioned Leventhorpe as a colonel of one of two home guard brigades. On December 13, 1864, Vance wrote to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, recommending that Leventhorpe be promoted to brigadier general and placed in command of regular Confederate troops in the eastern North Carolina district. Vance wrote: "This gallant officer is now a brigadier general of home guards in the service of this state, and has the universal confidence of our people, civil and military. I am earnest in my opinion that he, more than any other man, could restore quiet and order in that county."⁵

As a brigadier general of state forces, Leventhorpe commanded a large portion of the defenses of the Roanoke River and the Weldon Railroad. In early 1865, Leventhorpe was placed in command of at least eleven home guard battalions. He set up his headquarters at Asheboro, and mounted a two-week campaign against deserters and Unionists, resulting in several brief skirmishes and the rounding up of many suspected Unionists. Leventhorpe, from letters and reports, was viewed as being somewhat brutal in his operations. He rounded up wives, children, and grandparents into makeshift prisons and fed them nothing but bread and water until they disclosed information about the Union bushwhackers, called "Outliers." Harsh or not, his tactics were more successful than any others that were tried. The operation netted some three hundred deserters.

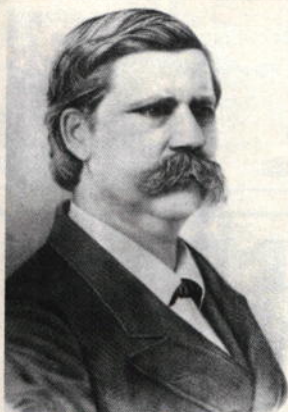
On hearing of Leventhorpe's abilities as a leader, President Jefferson Davis commissioned him a brigadier general in the Confederate service on February 18, 1865, to rank from February 3, 1865, and ordered him to report to General Braxton Bragg for assignment to the command of Clemming's Brigade, Hoke's Division. Leventhorpe declined the promo-

tion on March 6, 1865, possibly realizing that the end was not far away. Afterwards, General Bragg assigned him to command the defenses of Raleigh. On April 14, 1865, Leventhorpe wrote to Assistant Adjutant General J.M. Otey about the conditions of his troops. The end was near, and in a single night in April of 1865, up to two hundred men deserted and went home. After the capture of the city by Sherman's troops, Leventhorpe

accompanied the retreating Confederate soldiers toward Greensboro and surrendered at Durham.

"This gallant officer has the universal confidence of our people"

North Carolina Governor
Zebulon B. Vance
National Archives



In Leventhorpe's Confederate service, he was an exemplary soldier, receiving commendations

for his service both on and off the field. General P.G.T. Beauregard wrote of him, "He is a most reliable officer,"⁶ endorsing his letter concerning the desertions in Leventhorpe's lines. Brigadier General Richard C. Gatlin stated in a letter to Inspector General Samuel Cooper in February, 1862, that he had great confidence in Leventhorpe. Again, after the engagement at Kelly's Store, Virginia, Major General Samuel G. French said Leventhorpe deserved commendation for his successful defense with his small command.

After the war, the Leventhorpes moved to New York and spent their time traveling between North Carolina, New York, and England. General Leventhorpe wrote prose and poetry for various magazines and newspapers and collected antiques and

paintings. In his collection of paintings, he reportedly owned the following: "The Adoration of the Shepherds," by Raphael; "The Judgement of Midas," by Annabale Caracci; "A Dutch Scene," by Issac Ostade, and "Lot and His Daughters," by Dietrich.⁷ In 1872, the Democratic State Convention nominated him as a candidate for state auditor. Opposed by a carpetbagger in the election a few months later, he and the entire Democratic ticket were defeated.

Leventhorpe built "Holly Lodge" in Caldwell County, North Carolina, in the late 1870s. When his health began to decline, he sold "Holly Lodge" and spent his time between Boone, Watauga County, in the western North Carolina mountains and "The Fountain" in the Yadkin Valley in Wilkes County, North Carolina. On February 7, 1889, he wrote ex-governor Vance from Boone, expressing his condolences on a surgery recently undergone by the governor. Leventhorpe and his wife left Boone in early October, with the general in poor health. They traveled one last time to "The Fountain," the home of his brother-in-law, W. D. Jones. Leventhorpe passed away around 2:00 p.m. on December 1, 1889. He was buried December 3, 1889, at the Chapel of Rest, Happy Valley, North Carolina. The *Watauga Democrat*, in writing his obituary, stated: "We regard him as one of the grandest men we ever knew. He was so honest, upright and intelligent."

The Leventhorpes had no children, perhaps explaining why such a remarkable and gallant hero has not received the attention he deserves. Without descendants to champion his fascinating history, the noble Englishman who defended his adopted land might well have been forgotten. Although he lies in his quiet resting place at the Chapel of Rest, Leventhorpe's memory is not one that should be left in peaceful isolation. Rather, he is a figure whose achievements as a soldier, scholar, and citizen serve as a reminder to us all that by standing with us this perfect knight was, and is, our brother.

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Notes:

1. Walter Clark, ed. *North Carolina Troops, 1861-'65*, p. 586
2. *Ibid.* p. 587
3. *Official Records*, Vol. 48, Part 1, p. 122
4. *North Carolina Troops*, 589
5. *Official Records* Vol. 47, Part 1, p. 1259
6. *Ibid.*, Part 3, p 800
7. Clarence Griffen, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford County*, 36-38.

Collett Leventhorpe's grave stone at Chapel of Rest, Happy Valley, North Carolina.



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THE CIVIL WAR AND YADKIN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

By Frances H. Casstevens (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1997. Pp. 298. \$45.00, ISBN 0-78640-288-1.)

This book is a labor of love by a lifelong resident of Yadkin County. Situated on the western edge of the North Carolina Piedmont, Yadkin did not witness much of the war. The gravest threat to its safety came in April, 1865, when George Stoneman's Federal cavalry passed through the community. Yet, as a local historian and genealogist, Frances Casstevens believes Yadkin's wartime story is worth preserving, and rightly so.

Yadkin County was ambivalent about the war. The majority of its 9,300 white residents were small farmers who owned just 1,400 slaves between them. They opposed secession and cast 57 percent of their presidential ballots for John Bell in 1860. Like many Southerners, they chose to support the Confederacy when Abraham Lincoln called for troops to subdue the rebels, but tensions continued to run high between unionists and secessionists, only to increase during the war. Indeed, the centerpiece of Casstevens' story is a bloody shoot-out in February, 1863, between the county's Confederate militia and a band of local deserters and draft-dodgers who had taken refuge in a schoolhouse.

Casstevens patiently relates every phase of the county's wartime history. Separate chapters, each one filled with revealing quotes from contemporary sources and human sketches of Yadkin county citizens and families, explain such topics as the mood of the county on the eve of secession, the Confederate service of Yadkin volunteers, life on the home front, the county's militia and home guard units, the school house shoot-out, Stoneman's raid, and the aftermath of the war. Equally useful—and the largest portion of the book—is a set of eight appendices. These include letters and documents relating to the school house shoot-out, the roll of Yadkin men who surrendered at Appomattox, a list of units in which Yadkin's Confederate men served, a list of county militia officers, a detailed table of Yadkin veterans and widows who drew Confederate pensions, an accounting of Yadkin men exempted (including the reasons) from service in the Home Guard, and sketches of the military service of each of Yadkin's 1,200 Confederate veterans.

We need more carefully documented stories of individual Confederate communities like this one. The outline of Casstevens' story is uncomplicated and straightforward. Yet, she has embellished it with wonderful details about the lives of real men and women. It is not a book about famous folk and mighty deeds. It is more important than that. It is a story about how the people of a single community helped to shape history.

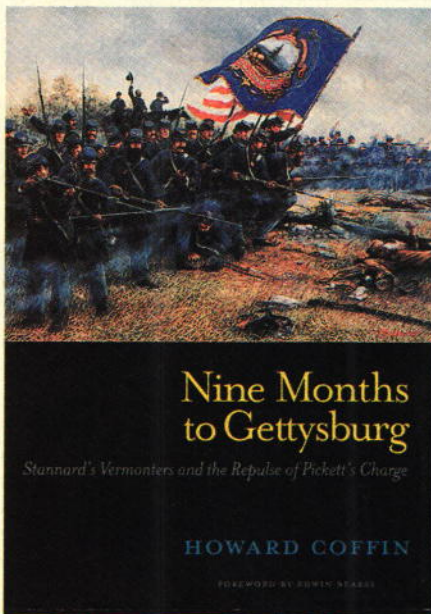
—Daniel E. Sutherland
University of Arkansas

NINE MONTHS TO GETTYSBURG: Stannard's Vermonters and the Repulse of Pickett's Charge

By Howard Coffin (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 1997. Pp. xxi, 314. \$29.95, ISBN 0-88150-400-9.)

COLLIS' ZOUAVES: The 114th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War

By Edward J. Hagerty (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. Pp. xv, 352. \$29.95, ISBN 0-8071-2199-1.)



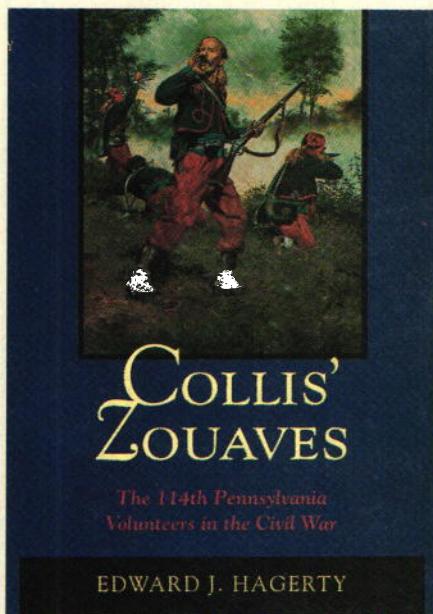
Nine Months to Gettysburg, while based entirely upon primary sources, many of which the author reprinted in their entirety, is a tedious read. The author basically arranged his primary sources chronologically, then wove them together with a very thin narrative. The final product is an unending collage of letters, diary entries, and reminiscences that are often identified by the author's name without reference to his rank, regiment, or company. There are

quite a few instances where the author omitted the dates of the writings.

Edward Hagerty explains in the preface, "This book is without footnotes, but the sources of information are identified. A quotation not attributed in the list of sources is generally from an unsigned letter to a newspaper or—if it is from a member of the 13th Vermont Regiment—from that unit's official regimental history" (p. xx).

Nine Months to Gettysburg, despite its tedious format, is filled with tremendous details about the soldiers' lives. The book includes a set of letters from one officer's wife describing her experiences in winter quarters. The Gettysburg chapter is filled with plenty of human-interest stories. To the author's credit, he filled the book with excellent photographs and the previously unpublished sketches of William Henry Jackson of the 12th Vermont.

Collis' Zouaves stands out in sharp contrast to the Vermont history. Thoroughly footnoted and craftily written, the text reads more like a novel than history. The Collis' Zouaves, who hailed mostly from Philadelphia, served from 1862



through 1865, during which time they saw action from Fredericksburg through Petersburg. The author, besides filling the pages with human interest stories, carefully analyzed the socio-economic structure of the regiment at the time of its enlistment and discovered that most of them were skilled or semi-skilled men from the urban area in and around Philadelphia.

His frankness in discussing the regiment's excessive desertion rate immediately after its enlistment is refreshingly



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honest. The 114th apparently suffered from either poor morale or poor leadership throughout the Chancellorsville and Gettysburg campaigns. Charles H. T. Collis was brought up on charges of neglecting his command during Chancellorsville and his lieutenant colonel, an amiable and laid back Cuban named Federico Cavada, did not accompany his men onto the field at Gettysburg. Their outspoken, opportunistic young colonel had the foresight to acquire enough imported cloth to keep the men clothed for the duration of the conflict. He also wrangled headquarters duty for the remnant of the regiment that survived Gettysburg, which saved them from destruction in the Overland Campaign.

While both books are well illustrated, include maps, and have extensive bibliographies, *Collis' Zouaves* is the better written and the more scholarly of the two. More thorough editing, and a more analytical approach would have made *Nine Months to Gettysburg* a more useful tool for the serious Civil War student.

—John Michael Priest
Boonsboro, MD

THE PRIDE OF THE CONFEDERATE ARTILLERY: The Washington Artillery In The Army Of Tennessee

By Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Press, 1997. Pp. xi, 384. \$29.95, ISBN 0-8071-2187-8.)

Nathaniel Hughes has written a vivid account of a unit from Louisiana, the Fifth Company of the Washington Artillery, whose members were recruited from both Creoles and Anglos. Hughes, whose previous works on the Civil War include a biography of Confederate Lieutenant General William Hardee, reveals his understanding of the war by tracing the Fifth Company's participation in numerous campaigns which pitted the Army of Tennessee against the Federals. A few of the encounters described by the author include Shiloh, Stone's River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, the Georgia campaign against Sherman, and the Second Battle of Murfreesboro. As the author depicts the Fifth Company's involvement in these campaigns, he refers to specific soldiers such as Orderly Sergeant Gordon Bakewell and First Lieutenant Adolphe Chalaron. For example, Hughes refers to a claim by Chalaron that the battery fought two successful artillery engagements. Moreover, one also hears from privates and wagon drivers whose thoughts and

actions give one a broader sense of how members of the Fifth Company felt during combat. The role of the Fifth Company at Chickamauga is an example of one of the tentative victories of the Washington Artillery. As Hughes relates, "After the exchange of only a few rounds the Federal's guns were silenced, the enemy battery having sustained losses in men and horses, as well as at least one caisson" (p. 124). Hughes' description of Missionary Ridge is also skillfully crafted. If one reads the book in its entirety, one feels empathy for the unit during the Atlanta campaign and its subsequent operations in Alabama and Tennessee.

This book's primary virtues are its readability and its scholarly research. Though Hughes uses numerous secondary accounts, he draws heavily from manuscript collections such as the Richard Pugh Letters and the Braxton Bragg Papers. One source that the author previously edited, *The Civil War Memoir of Philip Daingerfield Stephenson*, appears to be somewhat overused.

The book contains an appendix with a brief biography of all the members of the unit. These sketches make valuable and interesting reading both for the historian and for the amateur. Hughes' work, moreover, contains several photographs of individual members. This book is much more than the history of a regiment; it is a story of men's emotions as they battled for the Confederacy while serving in the Army of Tennessee. Hughes' account is a stimulating microcosm of the Civil War in the Western Theater.

—William L. Ketchersid
Bryan College

THE SPOTSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN

Edited by Gary W. Gallagher
(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998. Pp. xv, app. 288. \$29.95, ISBN 0-8078-2402-X.)

The Spotsylvania Campaign is the fifth volume in the *Military Campaigns of the Civil War*. Like its predecessors, this book offers essays by noted scholars on various aspects of a campaign. The eight essays in this work are uniformly good and embrace a number of themes: three address the high command in the armies, two focus on the experiences of common soldiers in the horrific combat, while the remaining three deal with the struggle at the Bloody Angle, Philip Sheridan's cavalry raid, and Ulysses S. Grant's analysis of the campaign as presented in his memoirs. (continued on page 86)

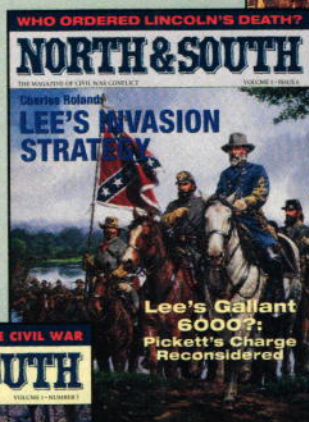
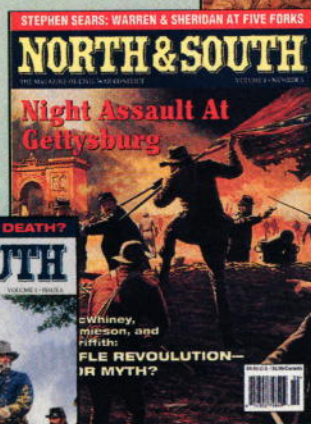
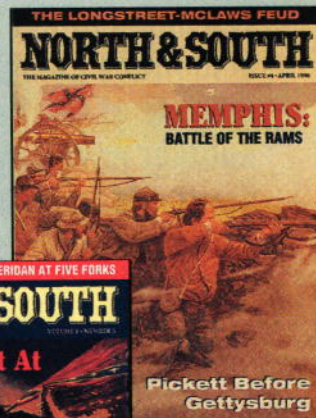
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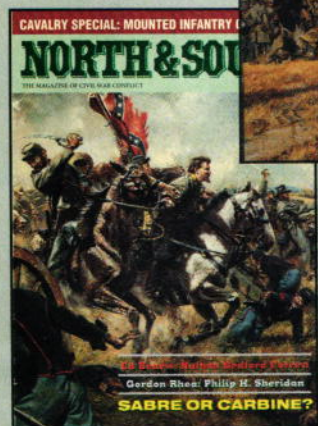
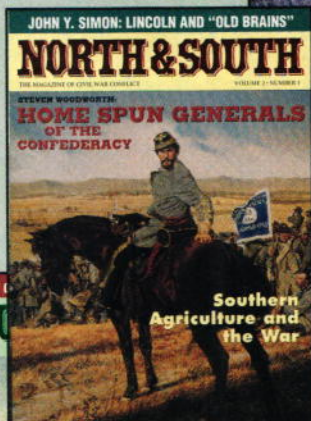
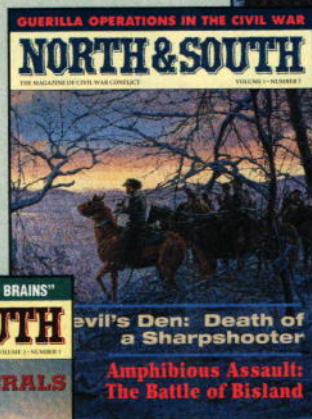
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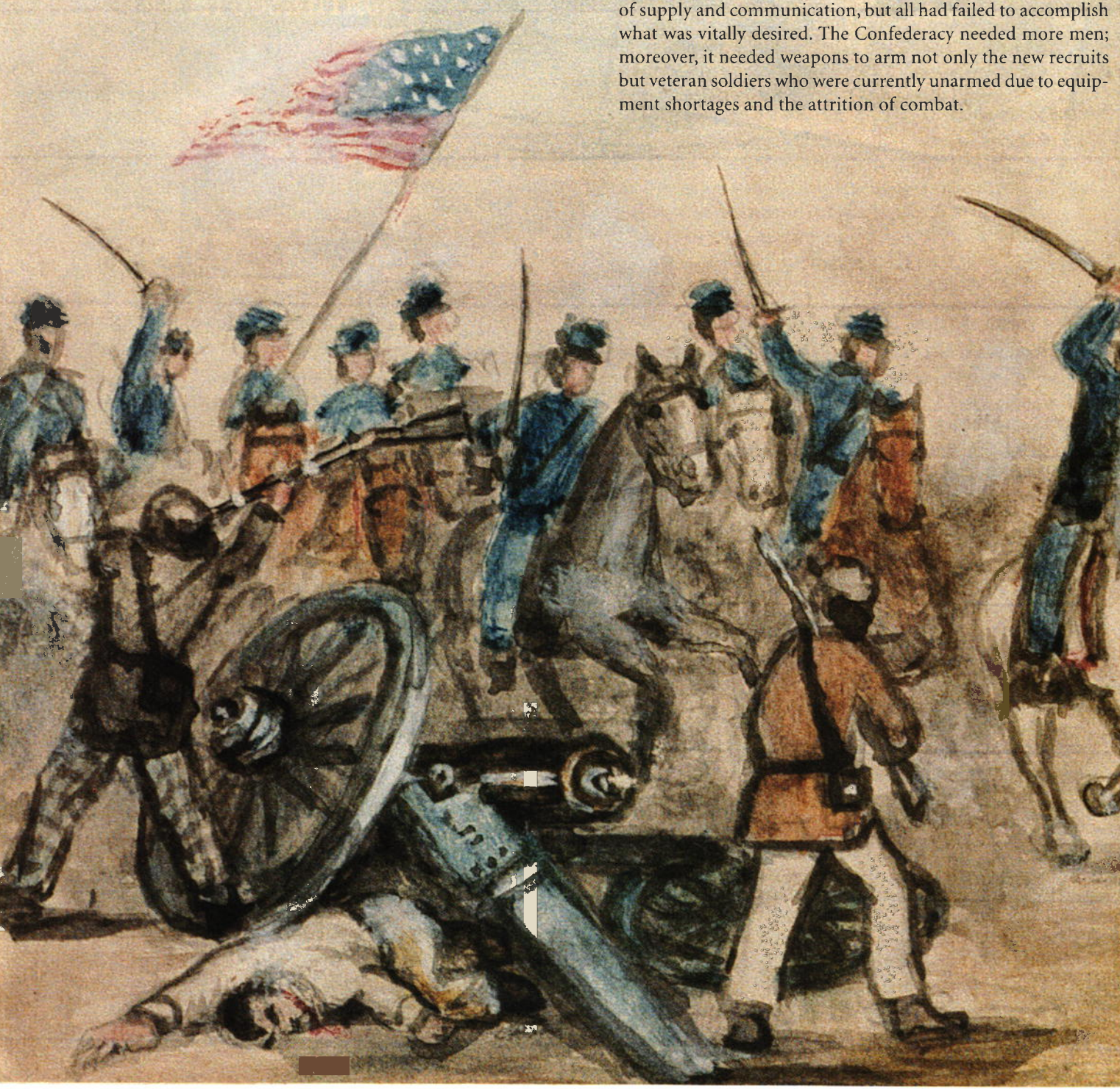


CHAOS ITSELF:

Kip Lindberg

Ten years to the day after the disastrous charge of the Light Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava, another cavalry charge against great odds was launched—but with very different results.

MISSOURI was firmly under Federal control in the fall of 1864. The center of conflict in the Trans-Mississippi during the first year of the war, the state was no longer the venue for large battles. The last vestige of an organized Southern army had been forced from the state by the winter of 1862 and had been relegated to Arkansas. After that time, the only rebel forces operating on a permanent basis within the state were small bands of partisan guerrillas. The previous year three separate Confederate cavalry raids had achieved limited success in the disruption of the enemy's lines of supply and communication, but all had failed to accomplish what was vitally desired. The Confederacy needed more men; moreover, it needed weapons to arm not only the new recruits but veteran soldiers who were currently unarmed due to equipment shortages and the attrition of combat.



The Battle Of Mine Creek

Missouri had become the backwater of the war. Despite the continual nuisance of guerrilla activity, the Federal army no longer had a need to keep large numbers of troops in the state. Missouri militia units, garrisoning towns and forts across the state, could combat the “brushfire” war, releasing regiment after regiment of infantry and cavalry to fight the “real enemy” in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee. While these measures allowed the war to progress elsewhere they also, in turn, left the whole state open for attack. The system of supply for the Union forces in the West—rail lines, river transports, and mammoth stockpiles of forage, equipment, and munitions—was presenting itself as a tantalizing prize.

A series of Confederate military victories in Arkansas in the spring of 1864 halted the southward advance of the Federal army, and allowed serious thought to be given to another Confederate

excursion into Missouri. General Edmund Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, believed such a raid could furnish not only the supplies desperately required by his army, but also thousands of new recruits for his depleted forces. As an added benefit, a successful campaign might prove beneficial to beleaguered Confederate forces in the East. Federal units destined for the war in Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia might be transferred to the West in order to combat the threat in Missouri.

Kirby Smith chose Major General Sterling Price, commanding the District of Arkansas, to command this expedition. A Virginian by birth, Price had moved to Missouri as a young man. Elected to represent Missouri in Congress, he resigned his seat to lead Missouri troops in the War with Mexico, where he earned a brigadier's star. In the 1850s he served a term as governor of the state. Originally opposed to secession, he was nevertheless instru-



mental in organizing and leading the first pro-southern forces in Missouri. Despite their early victories, Price and his Confederate army were driven from the state. From that moment on, Price was drawn to Missouri like a moth to the flame. He was determined to return to Missouri at the head of a victorious army.

In his order to Price, Kirby Smith clearly stated the mission and his desired goals. Price was to take his entire cavalry force into Missouri, with St. Louis as his objective. Kirby Smith admonished Price to remember that his chief desire was to recruit soldiers, and that a quick raid to St. Louis would net him much needed supplies and military goods, and would do more to rally support to his cause than any other course. If Price was unable to hold this territory, he was to withdraw back to Arkansas via Kansas and the Indian Territory, gathering livestock and military supplies along the way. Kirby Smith cautioned Price to instill strict discipline in his command, fearing such a body of men acting on their own would lead to personal vendettas and destruction.

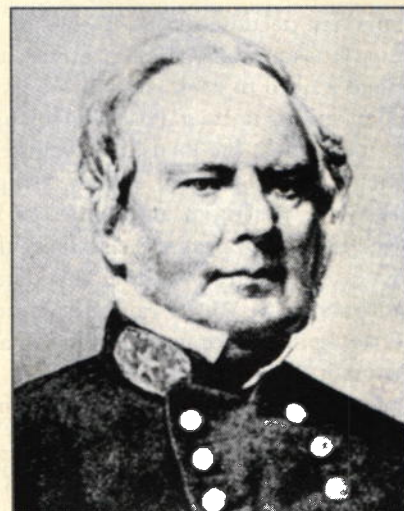
Price entered Missouri on September 19, at the head of an army of nearly twelve thousand men, from Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri. However, of these men, only eight thousand were armed. His three divisions, under Brigadier Generals Joseph O. Shelby and John S. Marmaduke and Major General James F. Fagan, included both artillery and cavalry units. Most were cavalry in name only; while all were mounted, most were essentially infantrymen, armed and equipped as infantry with muzzle-loading rifles. For many of the Missourians this was the first time in over two years they had been able to return to their native state. So great was his zeal to return home that Private F.M. Hope of the 4th Missouri (CS) Cavalry left the hospital before his broken leg had fully mended so that he could rejoin his command. Despite having his entire force mounted, Price's army moved slowly, on average less than twenty-five miles a day. Slowing the advance was the train of supply and ammunition wagons, and empty

wagons needed to carry the goods which would presumably be captured along the route.

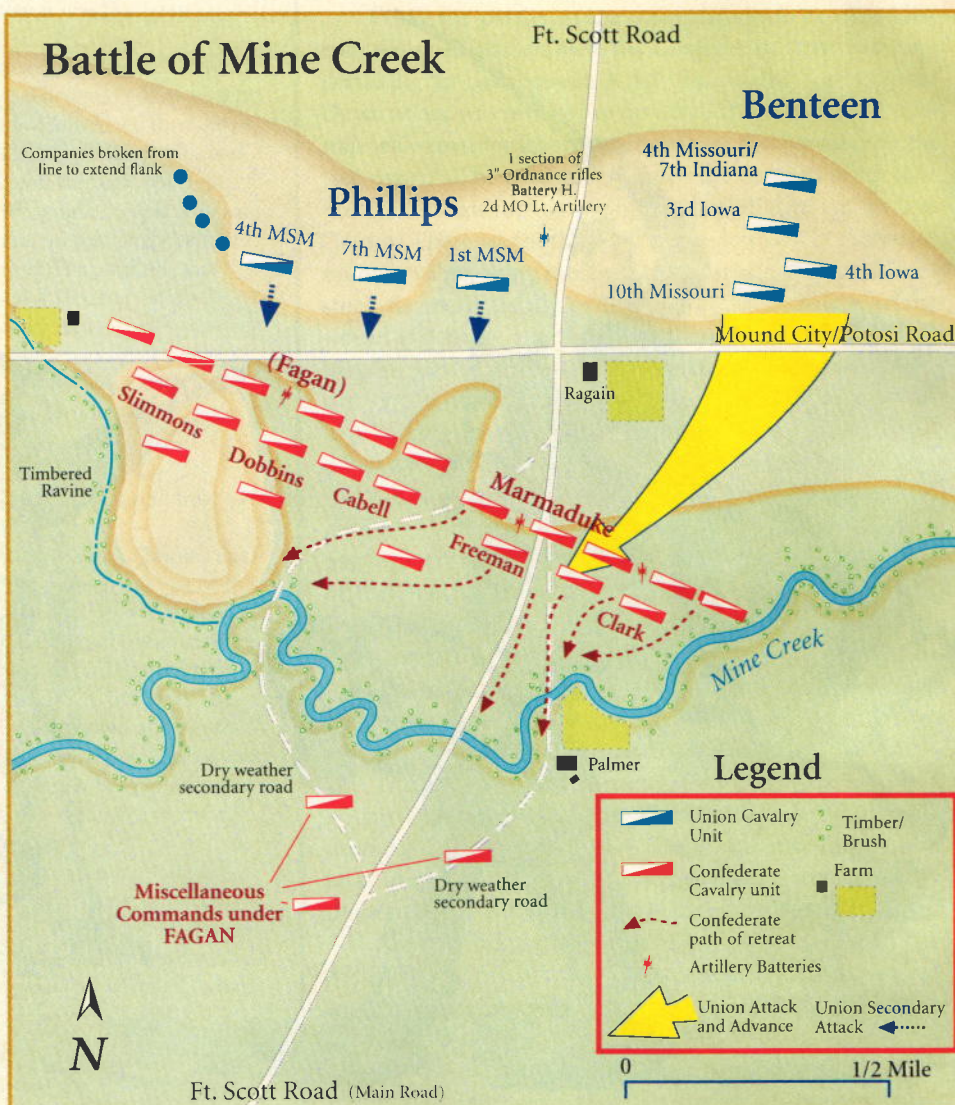
The raid did not catch the Federal authorities completely by surprise. As early as the previous spring, rumors of such a raid had filtered north to Major General William S. Rosecrans, commanding the Department of the Missouri. During the summer, an increase in partisan activity added to the notion that the raid was coming. Furthermore, the fields of ripening corn all across the state would provide ample forage for an invading army. Price had barely begun his march before an accurate report of his advance and troop strength reached Rosecrans. Just where Price was determined to strike, however, remained uncertain.¹

By the time Price reached the Federal garrison at Fort Davidson, near Ironton, doubts as to his route of advance and ultimate goal were dissipating. Price was heading for St. Louis, and

Union regiments began to reinforce that city. A costly battle at Fort Davidson succeeded in capturing weapons and supplies but at a great price; the raid was halted for a day, several hundred Confederates were killed or wounded, and



Major General Sterling Price
(National Archives)



Overleaf: "It Went Against Us"
Water color by Samuel J. Reader,
from his autobiography. Courtesy
Kansas State Historical Society,
Topeka, Kansas

the Federal garrison managed to escape and herald Price's approach. Hearing that the enemy forces in St. Louis outnumbered his own by two-to-one, Price deemed its capture impossible and turned instead toward the state capital, Jefferson City.

Although Price had abandoned Kirby Smith's cited goal of St. Louis, he was realizing another. Hundreds of men were being recruited all along the march. Many had been contacted by Confederate recruiting officers months previously, so that when the advanced units of Price's army marched by they would be ready to join. Most recruits would join Price's army with little more than the determination to fight. One such volunteer, John W. Halliburton, described the plight of his fellow recruits:

Very few of them had any military training. A small per cent had served in the Confederate army...while others had seen enforced service in the [Federal] enrolled militia of Missouri. All were mounted on untrained horses, with equipment of every kind that the country afforded. None were uniformed, but wore such clothes as they had or could procure around their homes. Probably one-third had not any kind of arms, and two-thirds carried muzzle-loading shotguns, muskets, squirrel rifles, and revolvers of various kinds and makes...

Halliburton himself felt fortunate to carry a .32 caliber Smith & Wesson revolver with a six-inch barrel.²

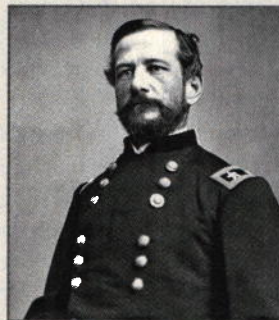
PPRICE CONTINUED to move slowly toward Jefferson City, gathering recruits and supplies, burning bridges, and tearing up railroad track along his path. Union quartermaster supplies were captured and distributed to eager recipients. Crates of breech-loading carbines were much welcomed, arming those who either had nothing or nothing better. Gradually, Price's men took on the appearance of the Union army, as torn and threadbare gray uniforms were replaced by new, regulation blue Federal uniforms. One soldier, Henry Luttrell of the 10th Missouri (CS) Cavalry, refused to discard his old, jean, shell jacket. However, it was hidden by a captured great coat, and by all appear-

WILLIAM LEWIS CABELL was born on New Years Day, 1827, in Danville, Virginia. He entered West Point in 1846, graduating four years later 33rd in a class of 46. Assigned to the 7th Infantry, he spent nearly ten years at various frontier forts in Nebraska, Kansas, and Indian Territories. Wounded in a clash with Indians and promoted to regimental quartermaster, he assisted in quelling the Mormon Rebellion in Utah. On April 20, 1861, Captain Cabell resigned and shortly thereafter accepted a commission as major in the Confederate States Army. He organized the Quartermaster Department in Richmond and participated in designing the



Confederate battle flag. Posted to the Trans-Mississippi Department in 1862, Cabell was wounded while leading troops at Corinth, Mississippi, in October. While acting as chief quartermaster in Arkansas in 1863, he was promoted to brigadier general and acquired the nickname "Old Tiger" for his fighting prowess. Captured at Mine Creek, Cabell spent the remainder of the war in Federal prisons in Ohio and Massachusetts. He later studied law, moved to Texas, and served four terms as mayor of Dallas, and was active in the United Confederate Veterans. He died on February 11, 1911. (photo: Library of Congress)

ALFRED PLEASANTON was born in the nation's capital on July 7, 1824. He graduated from West Point in 1844 in the top third of his class. Serving in the 2nd Dragoons in the Mexican War and on the frontier, Pleasanton rose to the rank of captain. With the coming of the Civil War, he distinguished himself in battle and was commissioned a brigadier general of volunteers in July, 1862, and given command of a cavalry division. Despite his reputation as an arrogant, vainglorious commander, he was promoted major general and given command of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac. He led his forces against J.E.B. Stuart's much-vaunted cavalry at Brandy Station in the largest cavalry engagement of the war. Pleasanton took all the credit for proving the

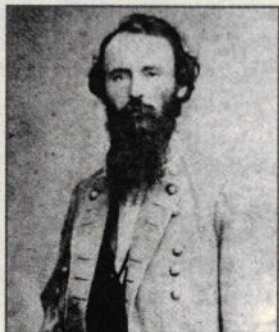


JAMES F. FAGAN was born in Kentucky in 1827. The stepson of an Arkansas governor, Fagan served in an Arkansas cavalry regiment during the Mexican War. In 1861, he resigned from the Arkansas legislature to raise a company for Confederate service. Elected colonel of the 1st Arkansas Infantry, he led the regiment at Shiloh. Promoted brigadier general, Fagan battled Federal forces throughout his adopted state. As a major general, he commanded the division of Arkansas cavalry during Price's campaign of 1864. Returning to civilian life, Fagan engaged in farming and government service, dying in 1893.

It is not known where Fagan was during the Battle of Mine Creek. He never wrote an official report or, apparently, even a memoir, of his part in the action. Clark mentions hast-

equality of Union cavalry, but after a lackluster performance in the Gettysburg Campaign and his outspoken criticism of the

Kilpatrick-Dahlgren raid on Richmond, he was replaced by Philip Sheridan in the spring of 1864 and ordered to the Department of Missouri. Commanding a provisional division of cavalry, he assisted in driving Price's forces from Missouri and Kansas. After the war, Pleasanton declined to take a reduction in rank to lieutenant colonel of infantry and resigned from the army. After serving in various minor government positions, Pleasanton died alone on February 17, 1897, in a soldier's home in Washington, D.C. The town of Pleasanton, Kansas, was named in his honor, with an unintentional change in spelling. (Photo: National Archives)



ily conferring with Marmaduke and Fagan just prior to the battle, suggesting he was north of Mine Creek. However, Cabell recalled dealing only with Marmaduke as to the final disposition of the Arkansas troops, suggesting that Fagan was not around to order it himself. Colonel John C. Wright of Slemmon's Brigade, also suggested Fagan was not in the fight, later writing, "I never saw Fagan under fire but once (at Kansas City) during the whole war, and it was seldom that he was near enough the front to see what was doing." Fagan was quick to organize resistance south of the creek, and would have been extremely fortunate to have escaped capture had he been north of Mine Creek when the fighting commenced. (Photo: Courtesy General Sweeny's Museum, Republic, Missouri)

ances Luttrell looked every inch the Federal—from the top of his yellow-corded Hardee hat to the heels of his US issue boots, complete with brass spurs. By late October, many of Price's men would of necessity be attired in Federal uniforms. Confederate Brigadier General William L. Cabell, however, estimated that nearly 80 percent of the Confederates wore no uniform at all.

Despite orders to the contrary, many of the men also began to pillage clothing and supplies from the civilian populace. Drunken soldiers rode along wearing ladies' hats. Store doors were smashed in and gutted of food, clothing, and even bolts of cloth. The hundreds of wagons, purposefully brought along for military supplies, were now filling with illicit loot.

As Price reached the outskirts of the capital on October 8, he began to encounter stiffer resistance. The defenses of Jefferson City had been augmented by lines of entrenchments and the several thousand Federal soldiers arriving overland from Rolla and up the Missouri River from St. Louis. Acting on the information that the city was defended by over twelve thousand men behind formidable earthworks and that another large force was threatening his rear, Price once again changed his plans. Abandoning his plans for the capital, Price sought to continue west toward Kansas.

The raid continued to progress slowly. Price diffused his command so as to cover more terrain. He continued to add new recruits and capture supplies from small Federal garrisons in Glasgow, Arrow Rock, Sedalia, and Lexington. Following closely was a force of over 9,000 Federal infantrymen led by Major General Andrew J. Smith, as well as 4,100 Union cavalry under command of Major General Alfred Pleasonton. Yet, despite this pursuit, Price would take nearly two weeks to march the 160 miles from Jefferson City to Independence.³

The raid's prospects of success took a decided turn for the worse over three days of fighting at Independence and Westport. Word of Price's advance was enough for Governor Thomas Carney of Kansas to declare martial law and to call out the state militia. Soon, Major General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding the Department of Kansas, had a force of fifteen thousand volunteers and militia, positioned to block Price. Caught between Curtis, Pleasonton, and Smith,

Price was forced to fight. Initially successful in capturing Independence and forcing the Federals to retire from their positions along the Big Blue River (October 21-22), Price's army was defeated at the Battle of Westport on October 23 and forced to begin its retreat to Arkansas.

Price led his defeated army along the old Military Road, which roughly followed the state line south to Fort Scott, Kansas. His army had suffered greatly in casualties, especially among regimental and line officers. Still, he retained his column of supply wagons, perhaps numbering as many as five hundred. Most of his new recruits remained with the army and were still awaiting arms. While Price would later claim to have only eight thousand armed men, reports from his division commanders suggest nearly twelve thousand men under arms. As stated before, many of these men, though armed, lacked the proper weapons to be effective cavalymen.⁴

THE CONFEDERATE COLUMN entered Kansas on October 24, still traveling south. Curtis' forces, now being called the Army of the Border, delayed for two hours by reorganization, followed in pursuit. A fire, set by Confederates in the thick, dry prairie grass along the road, slowed the Federal advance further. That evening, after marching thirty-three miles, Price's army camped at the village of Trading Post.

Here the Military Road forded the Marais des Cygnes River. By positioning their forces across the road and on top of two nearby mounds, the Confederates could command the route by which they would advance to Fort Scott the following morning. At 8:00 p.m., the advance guard of Curtis' army reached Trading Post and drove in Price's pickets. Two hours later, the rest of Pleasonton's cavalry division arrived and deployed to seize the Confederate positions on the mounds. However, the night grew very dark and a drenching rain began to fall, poor conditions for exhausted men to attack over unfamiliar terrain. Aside from minor skirmishing, no effort was made to force the enemy position that evening. For Price and his men, however, the next twenty-four hours would prove disastrous to their cause.

In the early morning hours of October 25, Price's forces were positioned on both sides of the Marais des Cygnes River. South of the river were the divisions of Shelby and Marmaduke. Across the ford to the north, and positioned as the rear guard on the two mounds and the Military Road, was Fagan's Division. At 2:00 a.m., Price set his army in motion south through the falling rain. With Shelby's Division as a vanguard, the extensive wagon train decamped, moving in three columns. A considerable delay was caused as the wagons crept out of camp. Mixed in among the wagons of

JOHN B. CLARK, JR., was the son of a Missouri congressman and a graduate of the Harvard Law School. While his father represented Missouri in the Confederate Congress, Clark commanded infantry and cavalry forces in the Trans-Mississippi. Promoted brigadier general in March, 1864, Clark is the only Confederate general officer known to be on the north bank when the fighting commenced at Mine Creek who managed to escape. Taking command of Marmaduke's Division, he led it south with Price to Arkansas. After the war, he was elected to Congress from Missouri. (Photo: Courtesy General Sweeney's Museum, Republic, Missouri)



JOHN F. PHILIPS was the last of many children, prompting his parents to give him the middle name Finis. Educated as a lawyer, he was given command of the 7th Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Ordered to combat the spread of guerrilla warfare throughout western Missouri, Philips quickly learned to strike his opponents without mercy, as his brigade would later do at Mine Creek. After the war, he returned to his law practice and, seemingly unaffected by the experience, had ex-Confederates as partners and successfully defended former Quantrill guerrilla and bank robber Frank James from murder charges in 1883. (Photo: From the Gil Barrett collection; Courtesy US Army Military History Institute)

military supplies and plunder were carriages and buggies belonging to southern sympathizers and refugees from Missouri piled high with their belongings, which gave the column the look of a "circus caravan." By the time the last of the wagons were underway it was nearly dawn, and the rain had changed to a fine drizzle and heavy fog. With Marmaduke's men deployed as skirmishers in the trees and brush along the south bank of the river, Fagan pulled his division off the mounds and across the ford to follow Price.⁵

As dawn neared and the Confederate position became visible, Curtis directed Pleasonton's division to take the offensive. Pleasonton, who had commanded all cavalry forces in the Army of the Potomac until relieved earlier in the year, immediately took up the task. Instructing two batteries of the 2nd Missouri Light Artillery to shell the enemy positions, he ordered his troops to as-

sault the mounds. The mounds were easily taken because Fagan was just completing his withdrawal across the river. From their position south of the river, Marmaduke's rear guard returned fire with rifles and artillery while felling trees to block the ford. The 2nd Arkansas (US) Cavalry and a battalion of the 2nd Colorado Cavalry charged across the ford under fire, driving the Confederate skirmishers south and capturing prisoners, a small cannon, and some thirty abandoned wagons. The fallen trees obstructed the crossing enough to seriously delay the bulk of the Federal army. Pleasonton's division crossed the river slowly, continuing to harass Marmaduke.

Around mid-morning, the heavy fog which had hidden the Confederate withdrawal dissipated as the wind picked up and the sun emerged. Marmaduke positioned a portion of his rear guard a half mile south of the river crossing. Unsure as to whether they were friendly troops

or the enemy, Colonel John E. Phelps ordered his 2nd Arkansas (US) Cavalry forward to investigate. Halfway to the opposing line, Phelps flushed out a line of rebel skirmishers from the high prairie grass, who, after firing a hasty volley, quickly rode back to the main column.

Meanwhile, further south, the head of the Confederate army had left the Military Road. Price chose to take a more direct route to his next objective, the Union garrison and supply depot at Fort Scott. The new route was known simply as the Fort Scott Road. He knew of the skirmishing in his rear but was more concerned with a Federal force he knew to be operating several miles west of his right flank. He believed this force comprised the bulk of Curtis' Army of the Border. It was, in fact, a small brigade under Colonel Thomas Moonlight, sent by Curtis to defend the town of Mound City. Believing this force to be his foremost threat, Price paid little attention to the fight developing in his rear. With Shelby's Division still in the lead, Price watched his army cross Mine Creek. The flowing water had cut a deep channel across the prairie, creating steep, caving banks. It could be crossed safely by wagons only in certain areas, where fords presented solid footing and more gradual inclines; horses could cross at other locations, with some difficulty. Price crossed the creek and continued south, seemingly not realizing the delay fording this stream would cause his command. Behind him, the three-column supply train halted while hundreds of teamsters waited their turn to cross at a single, suitable ford.

Marmaduke continued to delay the Union forces. Around 10:00 a.m., he had Brigadier General John B. Clark, Jr., deploy his brigade into a third line of battle just a mile further south, its left flank anchored on a wooded ravine and its right anchored on a small knoll near a log cabin. While the Federal cavalry maneuvered for position it received a fire of solid shot and shell from Confederate artillery. After sending an urgent request for a Federal battery to be brought up, Phelps prepared to advance. Linking with the 2nd Colorado and 8th Missouri State Militia Cavalry, and supported by a section of the 2nd Missouri Light Artillery, Phelps' 2nd Arkansas charged the enemy's defenses. Marmaduke's men promptly fell back.

JOHN S. MARMADUKE was the son of a Missouri governor. After attending Harvard and Yale, he received an appointment to West Point. Graduating 30th in the class of 1857, Marmaduke served four years in the 7th Infantry before resigning shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter. Returning to Missouri, he briefly served with the pro-southern



Missouri State Guard before accepting a commission in the Confederate army. Promoted

JAMES DUNLAVY was eighteen-years-old when he enlisted from Bloomfield, Iowa, in Company D, 3rd Iowa Cavalry. In addition to winning the Medal of Honor, Dunlavy was allowed to keep Marmaduke's revolver as a souvenir. Stolen from him while he recuperated from wounds in the post hospital at Fort Scott, local citizens promptly presented him with a cased set of Colt revolvers in appreciation for his service. He later became a doctor.

FREDERICK W. BENTEN was a native of Virginia, who moved with his family to St. Louis in 1849. While his service record states he was the recipient of six years education at the Virginia Military Institute, his name does not appear in their files. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Benteen chose to fight for the Union and accepted a captain's commission in the 10th Missouri Cavalry. Promoted major, his further rise to lieutenant colonel was



precipitated by the murder of the regiment's colonel by his second in command. The wounding of the brigade commander resulted in Lieutenant Colonel Benteen commanding a brigade of cavalry at Mine Creek. His per-

formance there earned him promotion to "Brigadier General, State of Missouri." Following the war, Benteen became captain of Company H, 7th U.S. Cavalry. An antagonist of his commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, Benteen's reputation as an officer would face public censure for failing to come to Custer's aid at the Little Big Horn in June, 1876. Alcoholism led to charges of public drunkenness and indecent exposure, forcing his retirement in 1888. He died ten years later. (Photo: Courtesy Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library; University of Georgia Libraries)

formed in 1887, while serving as governor of Missouri. (Photo: National Archives)

Phelps halted his regiment as reinforcements arrived.

Coming up quickly was a brigade of some fifteen hundred men, Missouri State Militia Cavalry led by Colonel John F. Philips. Ordered to charge Clark's Brigade as it was retiring, Philips spurred his men on in pursuit. Clark halted his men again in an attempt to slow Philips' progress. When Philips showed no signs of stopping, Clark continued south with his force still deployed in line of battle. With the enemy less than half a mile behind and closing fast, Clark crested a small rise on the prairie, beyond which the ground sloped down to Mine Creek. Before him was the bulk of Fagan and Marmaduke's divisions delayed by the crossing of Price's wagon train.

FAGAN'S DIVISION had been the first of the rear guard to witness the sight. Though the majority of wagons had crossed, many still waited,

slowed by the narrow passage and churned mud of the ford. Realizing they would have to fight or lose the remaining wagons, Fagan and Marmaduke quickly deployed their forces. Marmaduke would defend the right flank, where the wagons were crossing, and the center. Fagan would support the center and hold the left flank. Both decided it was best to remain on horseback, rather than dismount and fight on foot. With the enemy now only five hundred yards away, they felt any attempt to dismount would immediately incite the enemy to charge into their confused ranks. With little time to spare, Marmaduke prudently sent a dispatch rider to find Price and notify him of the pending fight. The Confederates had only enough time to prepare the barest of defenses before the enemy was upon them.

Philips brought his brigade to the rise overlooking Mine Creek and fronted his three cavalry regiments into line.

Sending word to Pleasanton that the enemy had stopped and was preparing to fight, Philips waited and watched. Only six hundred yards away from the Confederate left, his brigade was in place to appraise the disposition of the enemy.

The Confederates extended in a northwesterly line, with their right resting on the creek. The ford, with its struggling wagons, was located behind the first third of the line. The Fort Scott Road cut through the line at this point, and on a slight rise near the road was positioned a three-gun battery. The line continued, with regiments deployed several lines deep. Two additional batteries, totaling five guns, were placed along the line of battle. Two cannon were located directly opposite Philips. The line stretched to the left, ending at a timbered ravine. The line was nearly a mile long, and generally had several hundred yards between it and the creek. There were approximately seven thousand Confederate troops present, though a small number of these were positioned south of the creek and would take little part in the approaching battle. Mine Creek curved around behind, like a horseshoe, with the line of battle making the heel. Directly in front of the Confederate right and east of the road was the W.H. Ragain home and farm. Behind the Confederate right and across the creek was a log cabin and cornfield, the farm of John Palmer. Palmer was away serving in the Kansas Militia, leaving his wife and daughters to care for the farm in his absence. The terrain, covered by high, dead prairie grass, sloped down to the creek gradually, and undulated as it lay east to west.⁶

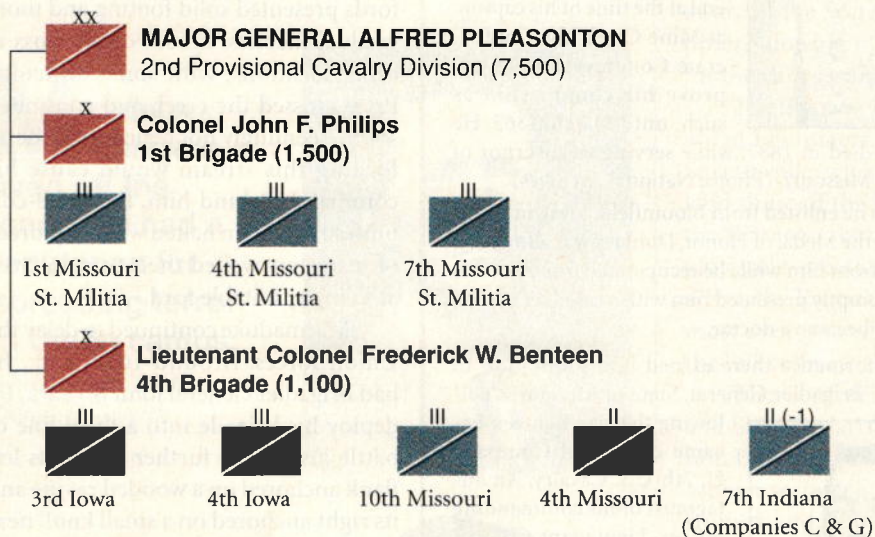
Almost immediately, the Southern cannon opened fire on the regiments of Philips' brigade, the 1st, 4th, and 7th Missouri State Militia Cavalry. Waiting for reinforcements to support the advance, Lieutenant Colonel Bazel Lazear, commanding the 1st Missouri, ordered his men to dismount and fight as skirmishers.

Support arrived about 11:00 a.m., in the form of a section of Battery H, 2nd Missouri Light Artillery, under Lieutenant Philip Smiley, which unlimbered on the right of the Federal regiments and opened on the Confederate left. Thundering up on Philips' right came more reinforcements, another of Pleasanton's brigades under Lieutenant Colonel Frederick W. Benteen, which

UNION FORCES Army of the Border

(14-15,000)

Major General Samuel R. Curtis



Miscellaneous Units:

 **Colonel William F. Cloud**
2nd Kansas (60 men)

 **Lieutenant Philip Smiley**
Section Battery H
2nd Missouri Light Artillery: 2 Guns; 3 Ordnance Rifles

 = cavalry  = artillery

XX = division; X = brigade; III = regiment; II = battalion; I = company or battery

consisted of the 10th Missouri Cavalry, the 3rd and 4th Iowa Cavalry, and a consolidation of companies from the 4th Missouri and 7th Indiana Cavalry regiments; in all, about eleven hundred officers and men. Benteen immediately decided to launch a charge against the Confederate right and center. If successful, he would break their lines and capture the battery along the road and the ford. With the ford captured, Confederate escape would be difficult.

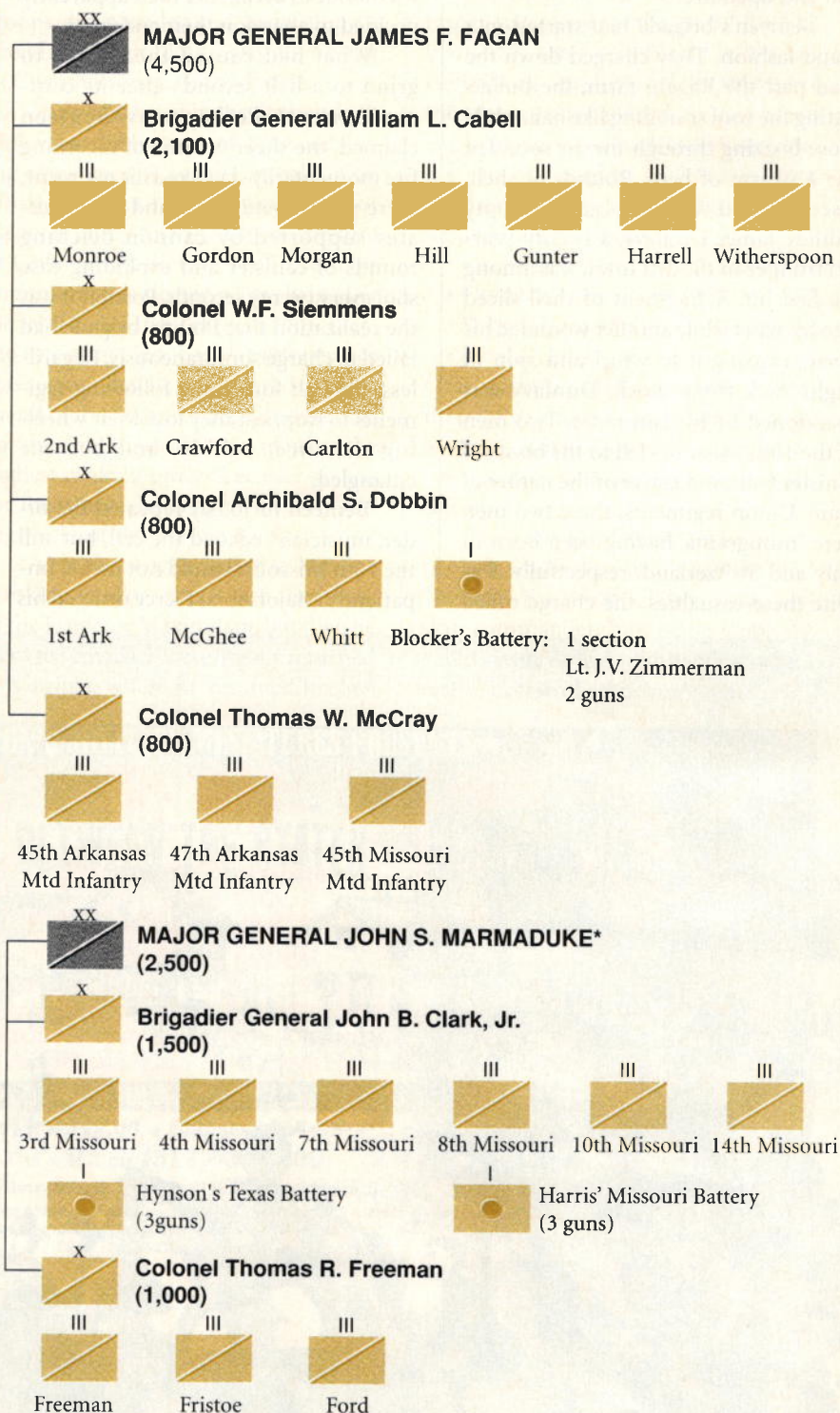
At first glance, Benteen's decision to attack seems astounding, as he was facing an enemy force six times greater than his own brigade. Yet, several factors should be borne in mind. Just two days prior, at Westport, the Federal forces had obtained their first victory in the campaign, and since then Price's army had been on the run. Captured rebels, abandoned wagons, and hastily vacated campsites suggested complete demoralization. Benteen's brigade, and indeed the entire Federal force, was convinced that the next fight would achieve total victory. Pleasanton had specifically ordered Benteen to charge the enemy if the opportunity presented itself. The Confederate position lent itself to attack, since once the Confederate line was broken there would be few avenues of escape. In addition, Benteen expected overwhelming reinforcements at any moment. He would strike the Confederates before they could escape, trusting Pleasanton to arrive with his remaining brigades in time to support his attack. With the wounding of his commanding officer at Westport, Benteen found himself in command not only of his own regiment, but of an entire brigade. Perhaps the opportunity for glory and advancement also influenced his decision. Certainly, his chance of victory would be enhanced if Philips' brigade joined in his charge.

Under fire from Confederate artillery and small arms, Benteen sent word to Philips in an attempt, "for God's sake," to coordinate charges. He would charge in column of regiments, his own 10th Missouri in the lead, followed by the Iowans and the Missouri / Indiana consolidated regiment. With his musicians sounding the charge, Benteen raced forward. Philips barely had time to call in his skirmishers before Benteen advanced. Once mounted, the Missouri State Militia regiments charged forward in sup-

CONFEDERATE FORCES Army of Missouri

(10-12,000)

Major General Sterling Price



*Rank not confirmed by Confederate Congress until March 18, 1865

= cavalry = artillery

XX = division; X = brigade; III = regiment; II = battalion; I = company or battery

port. They were within two hundred yards of the Confederate line when Lazear noticed Benteen's attack had faltered and stopped in mid-charge. Unwilling to continue without Benteen's full support, Philips ordered his men to halt and open fire.

Benteen's brigade had started in a grand fashion. They charged down the road past the Ragain farm, the bullets hitting the roof sounding like hail, while those buzzing through the air sounded like a swarm of bees. Rounds of shell, case shot, and canister began to empty saddles. James Dunlavy, a twenty-year-old trooper in the 3rd Iowa, was among the first hit. A fragment of shell sliced into his wrist while another wounded his horse, causing it to whirl and spin in fright. Sick from shock, Dunlavy was abandoned by his comrades. Two men of the 10th Missouri fell to the blasts of canister balls; indicative of the nature of many Union regiments, these two men were immigrants, having been born in Italy and Switzerland, respectfully. Despite these casualties, the charge rolled

down the grass-covered slope with increasing momentum. Halfway to the Confederate lines, however, the lead regiment, the 10th Missouri, suddenly and without orders, reigned in their horses and halted. With no sign that the enemy was about to break, the men apparently decided to abandon their endeavor.

What had caused the charge to grind to a halt seconds after its commencement? Perhaps, as Benteen claimed, the sheer volume of incoming fire momentarily staggered his regiment; there were several thousand Confederates supported by cannon belching rounds of canister and exploding case shot every twenty seconds. Possibly it was the realization that Philips' brigade had failed to charge simultaneously. Regardless, the halt forced the following regiments to stop, lest they lose their wheeling distance, collide, and become entangled.

Benteen furiously repeated the order, musicians echoed the call, but still the 10th Missouri would not move. Impatiently, Major Abial Pierce ordered his

4th Iowa to force its way through the 10th Missouri and continue the charge. With Pierce in the lead, the 4th Iowa headed for the enemy. Seeing their example, the 10th Missouri broke from its paralysis and the entire brigade rolled forward.⁷

On the right of the Union line of battle, Philips' regiments were inflicting a serious toll on Fagan. While most of the Missouri militiamen were still armed with muzzle-loading rifles, some had breech-loading weapons, including Smith, Cosmopolitan, Burnside, and privately purchased Henry repeating rifles. Seeing that Benteen was now continuing the charge, Lazear ordered his regiment to mount up and continue their charge against Fagan's men.

Marmaduke could do little but await the charge. Some of his men, fortunate to have been issued captured Sharp's breech-loading carbines, dismounted and, using their saddles to steady their aim, kept up an accurate fire. The majority of Confederates in both Marmaduke's and Fagan's Divisions were



Confederates retreating through Linn County, Kansas.
Watercolor by Samuel J. Reader. Courtesy Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka

armed with muzzle-loading infantry rifles rather than cavalry carbines. The length of these rifles and the nine steps involved in their loading made it difficult if not impossible to reload on horseback. Yet, they and their officers were unwilling to dismount, as a man without a horse on this campaign had little chance of escape. As Benteen's regiments bore down on their lines, many Southerners were able to get off only one shot.

ANY ORDER LEFT in Benteen's brigade was lost as it collided with the Confederates. The first lines of Southerners recoiled under the assault, backing into regiments positioned behind. Regiments broke into companies, and companies dissolved as individual combat ensued. In such close quarter fighting the advantage of pistols, sabres, and carbines became obvious, especially to those Confederates who had none. Riding through a mass of men, Pierce cut down eight rebels with his sabre. Breaks in the Confederate line allowed some of the 4th Iowa to cross the creek and sweep past the Palmer log cabin and cornfield beyond. Sighted by Union Brigadier General John B. Sanborn south of the creek and without their identifying guidon, they were suspected of being fleeing rebels and were fired upon by Federal artillery. With shells bursting above them, they were compelled to fall back to the shelter of the timber along the creek. The other regiments in the brigade entered the bloody melee. Benteen later said this round of hand-to-hand combat "...surpassed anything for the time it lasted I have ever witnessed." With rifles empty and no way to reload them, their horses uncontrollable in the melee, the Confederate lines broke and the rout began.

Colonel John Q. Burbridge's Missouri regiment was the first to break, exposing the flank of the entire line and fleeing in "wild confusion." As the Confederate right flank rolled back, Federal cavalrymen spread out, many heading west between the creek and the remaining Confederate lines. Like many others around him, Luttrell had fired his last cartridge when he noticed a column riding up behind the Confederate line. Despite their Federal uniforms, Luttrell assumed they were reinforcements. Only when he saw more clearly their uniforms, dark blue jackets as opposed to the light

blue overcoats adopted by so many of Marmaduke's men, did he realize they were indeed Federals. As the Union regiment charged, all turned into confusion:

What a God's pity we are out of ammunition, and just at this critical moment, too ...For one moment the two lines hang together, then they break into whirling eddies, in groups of twos, fours, and sixes, the federals cutting and slashing with their sabres, the confederates brandishing their revolvers and making believe they were going to shoot or using their guns to ward off the sabre blows...From a general fight it has now turned out to be a personal affair. I see a federal cutting and slashing at a confederate and calling upon him to surrender; on my right is a confederate riding knee to knee with a federal, with his empty pistol at his head admonishing him to throw up his hands...

injured mount forward. Seeing a group of rebels nearby, Dunlavy brought his carbine to his shoulder and fired. While reloading, he was surprised to see a Confederate officer riding him down, cursing him for firing at his own men. Drawing a bead on the approaching figure, Dunlavy was tempted to fire until the officer reigned in his horse just yards away. With a carbine leveled at his chest, Marmaduke had no choice but to surrender. Dunlavy proudly wrote his father of this feat, and later received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his action.

The two Confederate batteries on the right and center continued to fire well after the lines had broken. With no chance to limber up and retreat they were quickly captured, their cannoneers shot down or made prisoner as they worked their guns. Henry Luttrell used his captured Federal uniform to blend in among the Union cavalrymen guarding the ford. Crossing the creek he spurred his horse southward, the breeze blowing his overcoat back to expose his

Politics and Mine Creek

Though an important and dramatic victory, the Battle of Mine Creek received scant attention from the media. Such military news was largely overshadowed by the upcoming presidential election. Still, the Mound City, Kansas, *Border Sentinel* of November 4, 1864, managed to make political capital for the Republicans out of the battle's aftermath:

While a party of soldiers were burying the remaining dead a day or two after the battle of Mine Creek, one of them took from the wrist of a dead rebel captain a clasp, in which was set a neatly executed picture of McClellan. Such silent witnesses of this love the rebels have for this "King of Spades," is enough to satisfy any one.

Partisan reporting was not limited to Kansas papers. The Bloomfield, Iowa, *Union Guard*, a Republican press, rightfully gave hometown boy James Dunlavy credit for capturing Marmaduke, but failed to expand their coverage for political reasons (his father was a leading local Democrat).

Luttrell wrested a saber from the hand of a Federal and cut his way through the fight, desperate to find a way to cross Mine Creek. Others did likewise, as it became clear it was every man for himself.⁸

Marmaduke witnessed his division breaking, and tried to rally his men around him. In the pandemonium it seemed his own men were firing at each other. Because so many of his men wore Union uniforms, even he had trouble differentiating friend from foe. Seeing what he took to be one of his men firing at his retreating comrades, Marmaduke rode toward the Iowa trooper and launched into a verbal tirade.

Having recovered from the shock of his wrist wound, Dunlavy had urged his

gray jacket underneath. Seeing this, several Federals nearby raced after him, firing as they went. Only the swiftness of his horse prevented his capture. The Confederate right was shattered and its commander captured, leaving the broken regiments either to find another way to cross the creek or flee west toward Fagan's Division.

A rise in the ground and the tall prairie grass between Marmaduke's and Fagan's divisions prevented the far Confederate left from witnessing Benteen's charge and its effect. Cabell, one of Fagan's brigade commanders, was more concerned with the action on his front. Philips' brigade was pushing his line back and Smiley's cannon were firing charges

of double canister, but Cabell's men continued to resist. The Missouri militiamen under Philips were used to fighting guerrillas at close quarters, and some carried several pistols. They dashed in among Cabell's men, firing point blank. Suddenly, the men of Marmaduke's Division were retreating behind Cabell's position, desperately looking for a way to cross the creek. Mixed in among them were Federals, who attacked the flank of the Confederate line. Unable to withstand this onslaught, the Confederate left also broke and fled. Cabell tried to jump his horse across the creek, but the horse fell back on him. An officer of the 7th Missouri State Militia took him prisoner and sent him unescorted to the rear. Unconvinced of his status as a prisoner, Cabell caught a riderless horse and again headed south, only to be captured and sent back again. He tried a third time to ride through the Federals but was foiled when his pony was shot. Unfortunately for Cabell, his third captor had no intention of allowing him to escape again. Like his comrade Dunlavy, Sergeant Calvary D. Young of the 3rd Iowa Cavalry received the Medal of Honor for his capture of Cabell.⁹

Across the battlefield, Confederates were being captured, but many were being shot while attempting to surrender. Philips proudly reported he had followed orders by executing all prisoners caught wearing a part of a Union uniform. This had been ordered two years earlier to combat the increasingly vicious guerrilla war in Missouri. If a guerrilla saw fit to use a captured uniform as a ruse to lure a Federal soldier to his death, he in turn could expect the same. It was an unfortunate fact that these blue-clad Confederates were facing hardened Federal militiamen more experienced fighting irregulars than true Confederate cavalymen. Colonel John C. Wright was determined to surrender until he saw other men, with their hands in the air, killed while trying. Cabell observed Union soldiers killing wounded Southerners. He appealed to Colonel William F. Cloud, who was crossing the field with sixty men of the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, to stop the needless slaughter. Cloud replied they would only kill those wearing Federal uniforms. Another instance occurred on the Confederate right when a rebel prisoner was questioned how he acquired a Federal uniform. When he replied that

he had taken it from "a damned yank" he was shot through the head, and while dying, was trampled by the regiment.

Those who wished to avoid capture had few options. Some tried to jump the creek; others spurred their horses down the creek bed trying to find a break in the steep bank in order to get out, while Federal soldiers along the side fired down at them. Those dressed in Union uniforms tried to blend in with the enemy long enough to cross. Others, fleeing west along the creek, jumped fences and dodged bullets trying to find another ford. Confederate Lieutenant J.V. Zimmerman tried to take a section of artillery across a bad ford only to get the guns stuck and captured. Those who somehow made it across, found the Federals waiting to capture them.

tured was F. M. Hope, who limped into captivity on his freshly knitted broken leg. An exact estimate of Southern casualties may never be known, as hundreds, demoralized by the whole raid and so close to their homes, deserted in the days to come. Also lost in the fight were thousands of the precious weapons the raid had netted. Colonel Colton Greene of Marmaduke's Division reported over two-thirds of his men had thrown their weapons away. Pleasanton estimated over two thousand stands of arms were abandoned on the field, but no accurate count could be given. Local Kansans had "jayhawked" them and taken them home. Despite the civilian pillage of the field, three wagons were filled with discarded weapons, while another three wagon-loads of saddles were gathered.

War and Fate

While chasing Price's army through northeastern Arkansas, the 4th Missouri (U.S.) Cavalry had seven men and three horses drown when the boat ferrying them across Black Fish Lake capsized. This accident claimed more lives than did the Battle of Mine Creek, where five soldiers were killed or mortally wounded.

After Mine Creek, the 3rd Iowa Veteran Cavalry was sent back to duty in Tennessee. Completely resupplied and remounted in St. Louis, they boarded steamboats at Carondelet, Missouri, on December 10, 1864, to begin their trek south. To avoid a night passage through floating ice and high winds, the river boat *Maria*, carrying companies F and H, spent the night on the bank of the Mississippi River. The following morning, while building steam to continue the journey, her boilers exploded. Soldiers were scalded by the blast of steam or thrown into the river by the explosion. Three men were killed and another thirteen injured, including two men recovering from wounds received at Mine Creek. The *Maria* then sank, taking with her one hundred sixty horses and mules, as well as the newly issued equipment and weapons.

Receiving Marmaduke's dispatch, Price immediately sent Shelby's Division back to assist. As Shelby and Price approached Mine Creek, they were met by the remnants of Marmaduke's and Fagan's divisions. Fagan was attempting to halt the retreat and establish a new line of defense on a rise one mile south of Mine Creek when Price and Shelby arrived. More men made their way through the Federals and rejoined their commands, but there was no doubt that Price had been dealt a serious blow from which his army would not recover.¹⁰

From the time Benteen began his charge to the elimination of all Confederate resistance north of Mine Creek, little more than half an hour had elapsed. In that half-hour, two Confederate generals and eight colonels had been captured, along with all eight of Price's cannon. Confederate casualty estimates are four hundred or more killed and wounded and upwards of one thousand captured. One of the enlisted men cap-

Federal casualties are more certain, with less than 150 killed and wounded. Wounded from both sides were treated in local houses turned hospitals near the battlefield, in nearby Mound City, and in Fort Scott. The victors had little time to stop and remove the dead, leaving that chore to those who would follow. In the days following, the dead were buried on the field by local families and a company of pioneers, their faces shielded by towels from the stench.

Most of Price's wagon train was able to retreat safely south before the collapse of the Confederate line. Only eighteen wagons were listed as captured at Mine Creek. While fleeing south, some wagons were emptied of their contents to hasten their retreat. Pursuing Federals noted bales of rope, grindstones, boxes and barrels of store merchandise, clocks, and spinning wheels, as well as rifles, shotguns, and the now superfluous artillery ammunition. Early in the morning of October 26, Price reluctantly cor-

ralled and burned more than a third of his cherished wagons.

As the raid concluded, Price retreated through southwest Missouri and northeast Arkansas before entering the Indian Territory and Texas. Along the way, his men suffered greatly from hunger. Men broke from the army in small bands to forage for food. Soldiers were observed arguing over who would get to eat a dead skunk and took to hunting wolves, for as one man said ... "wolf meat was better than no meat at all." Luttrell acquired more ammunition, only to trade it for a hunk of salt pork. Others subsisted on acorns for days. With nothing but dried prairie grass to eat, hundreds of horses died. The army was thoroughly demoralized. In a letter

home, one soldier wrote "... we present a pitiable, forlorn aspect. G— D— old Price, is the almost constant ejaculation from men exhausted in both body and spirit."¹¹

The significance of the Battle of Mine Creek has largely been overlooked. Prior to the battle, although Price had not taken St. Louis, he had recruited large numbers of soldiers and captured the desired weapons and other military supplies, and the raid had successfully pulled Federal troops away from service in Tennessee and Mississippi. Yet, these triumphs were quickly lost. The large numbers of men killed or captured at Mine Creek, and those who chose to desert afterward, negated the gain in troop strength. The thousands of weapons dis-

carded after the fight could not be replaced. Likewise, the capture of two general officers and eight colonels were losses in experience and leadership desperately needed by an army battling an overwhelming foe. The battle was a Union victory on what was clearly Union soil, the fledgling state of Kansas, just weeks before the November elections. Finally, the defeat and the weeks of privation faced by Confederates during their retreat broke the spirit of the army. Price himself faced a court of inquiry and allegations of mismanagement. In the end, Price's Raid of 1864 accomplished little more than to seal the fate of the Confederacy in the Trans-Mississippi, and the debacle at Mine Creek was the straw that broke the camel's back. □

MINE CREEK BATTLEFIELD STATE HISTORIC SITE

is administered by the Kansas State Historical Society. Located in Linn County, Kansas, the 280 acre park preserves much of the original battlefield. The site features walking trails through a restored prairie with interpretive displays describing the battle. Construction of a visitor center will begin in Spring 1998 with completion slated for the battle's 134th anniversary in October.

Kip Lindberg is the site curator. For further information call (913) 795-4365 or write at Mine Creek Battlefield State Historic Site, P.O. Box 350, Mound City, KS 66056.

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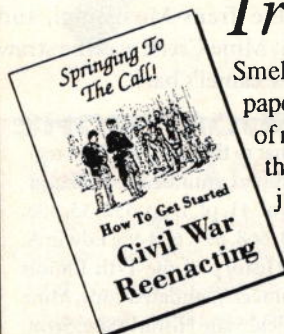


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(continued from page 72)

The initial essay, by Gary W. Gallagher, analyzes the generalship of Robert E. Lee and his corps commanders. The Wilderness and Spotsylvania campaigns, argues Gallagher, revealed conclusively the shortcomings of Richard S. Ewell and A. P. Hill and forced Lee to adapt his command methods to the circumstances. As the army's high command disintegrated—worsened by the fall of James Longstreet in the Wilderness—Lee assumed more personal direction of units. It is a familiar story, but well-fashioned by Gallagher.

William D. Matter and Gordon C. Rhea, authors of two fine accounts of the campaign, examine high command in the Army of the Potomac. Matter's essay covers a broader canvas, discussing the performances of the senior officers under George G. Meade. Matter's argument is trenchant and critical of the Union commanders. Likewise, Rhea contends that Gouverneur Warren's performance as commander of the Fifth Corps cost him the support and trust of Meade and of Grant and laid the groundwork for his eventual removal from command at Five Forks.

The two finest essays in the book are Robert K. Krick's description of the fighting at the Bloody Angle and Carol Reardon's analysis of how the unrelenting slaughter overwhelmed the men in the ranks. Both essays are grounded in broad research and are well-written. Krick offers a detailed account of the fighting done by Nathaniel Harris's Mississippi brigade and Samuel McGowan's South Carolina regiments on May 12, 1864. Reardon's essay, perhaps the most original in the book, paints a graphic portrait of two armies and their members passing through an unprecedented nightmare of blood, exhaustion, and death.

Robert E. L. Krick's account of Sheridan's cavalry raid toward Richmond and the engagement at Yellow Tavern is well done. Krick argues persuasively that Sheridan's target was not the Confederate capital, but Stuart's cavalry units.

The final two essays, by Peter S. Carmichael and William A. Blair, embrace a similar topic but from different perspectives. Carmichael explores the experience of the 15th New Jersey Infantry in the operations and how its surviving members later shaped their memories of the bloody fighting. Like Carmichael, Blair deals with the memories of the campaign but as presented by Grant in his personal memoirs. Both essays are finely done.

The Spotsylvania Campaign is an excellent companion piece to Matter's and Rhea's works on the subject. The book is a fine addition to an outstanding series.

—Jeffrey D. Wert
Centre Hall, PA

EDUCATION IN VIOLENCE: The Life of George H. Thomas and the History of the Army of the Cumberland.

By Francis F. McKinney (Detroit, 1961; reprinted 1991, with a new introduction by John S. Peterson. Chicago: Americana House, 1997. Pp. xviii, 530. Paper, \$27.95, ISBN 0-9625290-5-2.)

As the title of the book implies, Francis McKinney's *Education in Violence* is more than a biography of Major General George H. Thomas. It is a history of the army he rose to command.

Thomas, who by the end of the war led one of the three major Union armies, has always proven a challenge to biographers. Unnaturally modest by the standards of the age, he did little to promote himself or his image with the public, writing little and shying away from speeches. Worse yet, he destroyed his personal papers, forcing biographers to rely on inference from his actions and what others said about him to explore and explain his life.

When first released in 1962, critics hailed *Education in Violence* as perhaps the best book ever written on Thomas. This reviewer found many strengths in it—interesting (and sometimes idiosyncratic) analysis of the war in the West, a revisionist approach in which the Army of the Cumberland is given its due for pioneering many techniques generally credited to the more ballyhooed (if militarily less successful) eastern armies, a balanced approach to other commanders and controversies, and a competent writing style.

The book also has several weaknesses. Too much reliance is placed on secondary sources, and those cited are often biased or self-serving. The text is replete with minor factual errors and statements for which proof is lacking: for example, Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan is identified in a photo caption as a major general. Footnotes are few and generally unhelpful. This edition comes with an extensive fold-out map, three photo sections, and the excellent 1991 introduction by John S. Peterson.

—Bruce S. Allardice
Des Plaines, Illinois

THE CIVIL WAR:

The Nantucket Experience, including the Memoirs of Josiah Fitch Murphey.

By Richard F. Miller and Robert F. Mooney
(Nantucket, MA: Wesco Publishing, 1994. Pp. xii, 196. \$???, ISBN 0-9627851-1-3)

This quite useful volume is the proverbial mixed bag—a combination of local history, memoir, and company roster. More a book to consult than to read, it attempts to tell a story but is more successful as a reference work.

On the eve of the Civil War, Nantucket Island had been suffering for some time from the steady decline of the whaling industry. Influenced by some Quaker abolitionists and even more so by the new Republican party, the area was ardently patriotic at the beginning of the war. Some eighty local men quickly enlisted in Company I of the 20th Massachusetts Infantry (the famous "Harvard Regiment"). Many of these recruits were farmers and seamen whose cool insolence and occasional intoxication tried the patience of their more educated officers. These Nantucket men unfortunately participated in the Federal disaster at Ball's Bluff but showed courage under fire. Back home, patriotic sermons and benefit concerts helped sustain the war effort, but by the summer of 1862, a hundred-dollar bounty was needed to spur volunteering. Even more disheartening were the heavy casualties sustained by the 20th Massachusetts during the Army of the Potomac's December 11 crossing into Fredericksburg. At Gettysburg, Co. I stood directly in the path of Pickett's charge.

The authors have combed newspapers, letters, and various local sources to compile their brief narrative of Nantucket's wartime experience. Their story is a lively one but largely consists of source material pasted together into a chronology. There are many interesting tidbits—such as a newspaper controversy over whether women were discouraging enlistments—but overall this sketchy account is simply disjointed.

The memoirs of nineteen-year-old grocery clerk Josiah Fitch Murphey are of more interest. Murphey survived the war but only after being badly shot in the face at Fredericksburg and later enduring a long bout with typhoid fever. Murphey's well-crafted memoir, including a useful 1864 diary on the early phases of Grant's Overland Campaign, is filled with useful detail on soldier life along with graphic descriptions of carnage and hospitals. His recollection of the street fighting in Fredericks-



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burg is especially helpful though certainly the story of the 20th Massachusetts in that engagement is well documented in several other sources.

Nor should readers overlook the detailed roster of Company I that forms the last section of the book. It is filled with information about officers and enlisted men including age, occupation, physical appearance, and in some cases detailed descriptions of wartime experiences with generous quotations from newspapers and other primary sources.

The weaknesses in this labor of love will be obvious to the most casual reader, but there is also a great deal of information here that would be difficult to track down anywhere else. The obvious local focus should not obscure the fact that students of the Civil War will find valuable material here on a host of subjects.

—George C. Rable
Anderson University

FOUR YEARS IN THE FIRST NEW YORK LIGHT ARTILLERY

Edited by Norman L. Ritchie (Hamilton, NY:
 Edmonston Publishing, Inc., 1997. Pp. x,
 257. \$24.95, ISBN 0-9622393-9-9.)

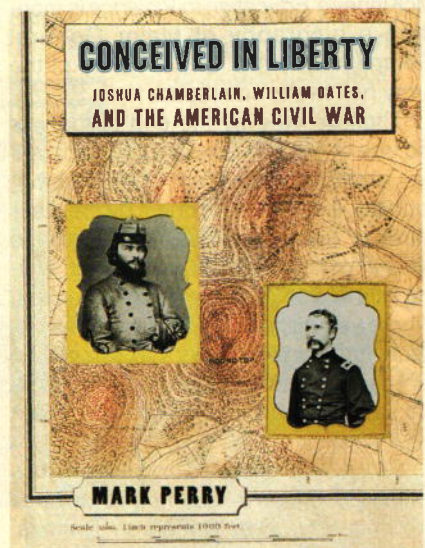
The steady and seemingly endless stream of Civil War memoirs appearing in print these days has effectively raised the bar for all new entries. It is no longer enough for the literary-minded veteran to tell a good story, there needs to be content which adds to our understanding of significant events or personalities, or which deepens our appreciation of the soldier's experience. Norman L. Ritchie's graceful editing of his father's journals, letters, and reports to his hometown newspaper nearly meets this standard. David F. Ritchie served principally in the 1st New York Light Artillery throughout the war. He saw combat up close at Seven Pines, the North Anna River, and at Peebles' Farm at Petersburg, and wrote vividly about those experiences for the Utica (NY) *Morning Herald and Daily Gazette*. Of the fighting at North Anna, where the Fifth Corps was caught alone with a river behind it and partially routed, Ritchie said of the battle's turning point: "The carnage was terrific. In spite of the most gallant efforts of the rebel officers to sustain their men, the rebel line was broken and fled back in confusion after having approached to within less than a hundred yards of our line. Many dared not go back but threw down their muskets and gave themselves up." Ritchie hated Copperheads, disliked George B.

McClellan, and was disgusted by slavery. His memoir relates little about service in the artillery and his numerous camp stories are glibly spun but unnourishing. The two maps are inadequate, though the personal photographs offer previously unpublished images. A noteworthy also-ration in the current memoir field, it is a touching gesture from a son to his father.

—Noah Andre Trudeau
Washington, D.C.

CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY: Joshua Chamberlain, William Oates, and the American Civil War

By Mark Perry. (New York: Viking, 1997.
 Pp. 500. \$31.95. ISBN 0-670-86225-8.)



The lives of the two colonels became inextricably linked when their regiments collided just south of Gettysburg on July 2, 1863. The resultant struggle ripped through the dark woods of Little Round Top and became one of the most intensely studied small-unit actions in military history. The tactical maneuvers of the 20th Maine and 15th Alabama have been analyzed from every angle, it seems, until the story has taken on the patina of legend. But what brought these rival commanders to Gettysburg? What formative experiences shaped their battlefield behavior? And how did the epic events of that hot summer day influence their subsequent lives? Mark Perry addresses such vital questions with a brilliant dual biography. Along the way he probes the social, political, and religious milieu of nineteenth-century America. The result? A stunning narrative graced with keen insight and glittering prose.

Chamberlain—literary scholar, Hero of Little Round Top, postwar governor of

Maine—has attracted the attention of several biographers. Despite the inherent challenges of finding something fresh to say about a man subjected to such scrutiny, Perry has unearthed a surprising amount of overlooked material. Perhaps the most interesting new items involve Chamberlain's marital relations. Like countless other women of the era, Fannie Chamberlain—left alone when Joshua marched off to war—found in her husband's absence an increased opportunity for independence. The relationship faltered when Chamberlain returned to Maine and, ignoring Fannie's strenuous objections, set his sights on high political office. "It was difficult being married to a hero and even more difficult being married to a governor," writes Perry. "Joshua Chamberlain was celebrated nearly everywhere he went, while she was ignored." Although the conflicts led to charges of physical abuse and discussions of divorce, Perry speculates that the couple eventually reached a mutually satisfactory arrangement. "Fannie agreed to cooperate in playing her role as the loving wife," he writes, "while Joshua allowed her her independence." Perry probes several other relatively neglected topics: Chamberlain's frustrating speech impediment, his constant quest for military promotion, his post-war political stubbornness. Such honest appraisals help move the study of Chamberlain beyond the realm of hagiography, offering a more balanced glimpse of the man behind the legend.

Perry's most important contribution, however, lies in the careful attention he affords the other hero of Little Round Top. Indeed, the early life of William Oates serves as a handy springboard for Perry's articulate discussion of the antebellum South. Raised in southeastern Alabama, nineteen-year-old Oates undertook a frolicsome tour of the Old Southwest. After several wild scrapes in frontier Texas, he returned to his native state and settled into a career in law and politics. When secession furor swept across the South in 1861, Oates raised a company of volunteers for what became the 15th Alabama. By war's end, the regiment had covered itself in glory and Oates had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel. After Appomattox, he returned to politics with a vengeance, dead set on minimizing the impact of Reconstruction. Oates, like Chamberlain, became governor of his native state. He enjoyed the further honor of serving as a brigadier general in the Spanish-American War.

The illustrations are well-selected and the maps are models of clarity. The only complaint involves the non-standard format of the endnotes; some quotes remain unattributed while the sources of others are sometimes hard to ascertain. Such quibbles aside, *Conceived in Liberty* represents an enjoyable and lasting contribution to Civil War biography.

—Mark Chance
Venus, TX

WHEN THE DEVIL CAME DOWN TO DIXIE:

Ben Butler in New Orleans

By Chester G. Hearn (Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University Press, 1997. Pp.
xii, 260. \$26.95, ISBN 0-8071-2180-0.)

Viewing his commanding officer for the first time, Captain John W. De Forest remarked in a letter to his wife that Major General Benjamin F. Butler was "not the grossly fat and altogether ugly man who is presented in the illustrated weeklies.... [O]n the whole he seemed less like a major general than like a politician who was coaxing for votes" (pp. 55-56). More than a century after his death, it is still difficult to distill the essence of the man Confederates nicknamed "Beast" but

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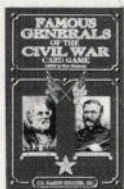
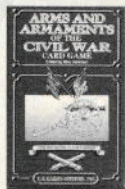
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IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

Without Pity, and Without the Blessing of God

Guerrilla Warfare: vicious, bloody, but could it have been the key to Southern victory? —Dan Sutherland

The Battle of Bisland

Louisiana, April, 1863. Major General Nathaniel P. Banks planned a brilliant amphibious coup. But things didn't go as expected...

—Lawrence Lee Hewitt and
R. Christopher Goodwin

"Let Me Edge Into Your Bright Fire"

Civil War soldiers fought to remain fathers in deed as well as in name, and one cannot fully understand the men who wore the blue and the gray unless one realizes how important their families were to them.

—James Marten

Devil's Den: Death of a Sharpshooter

Recent studies of Alexander Gardner's photographs of the "Sharpshooter" suggest that the views considered to be "fake" for more than two decades are genuine after all. Instead of carrying the body uphill, Gardner dragged it downhill.

—James Groves

The Government Gives and the Captain Takes Away

Pay and discipline in Mr. Lincoln's Navy—Dennis Ringle

Lewis Powell's Military Career

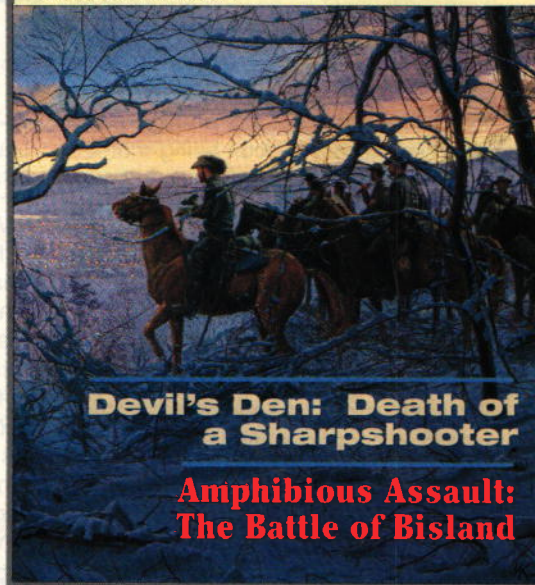
Before he joined the Confederate Secret Service, Lewis Powell had an eventful career in the Confederate army—Betty Ownsbey

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whom Admiral David G. Farragut called "the right man in the right place in New Orleans" (p. 4).

Was Butler's eight-month administration of New Orleans following its capture in 1862 a travesty of tyranny, insults to southern womanhood, and theft or was it one of the few times in the nineteenth century that the city was administered with some regard for its poorer population? Playing it safe, Chester W. Hearn, writing his eighth book since 1992 and fourth with some relation to Civil War New Orleans, calls Butler "a fascinating study of inconsistencies—a remarkable man infused with a politician's appetite for wealth and power and a sincere empathy for the poor" (p. 5). The human mind, however, resists inconsistencies as much as nature abhors a vacuum, and Hearn has largely sided with the illustrated weeklies in depicting Butler's ugliness. Indeed, the strong implication is that Butler did nothing that was not self-serving; he helped the poor as a means of undercutting the rich and powerful in order to more easily plunder them. Hearn even asserts that practicing criminal law had taught Butler how to steal without leaving incriminating evidence.

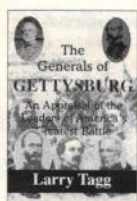
Hearn's analysis of Butler, which relies heavily on older secondary and pub-

lished primary sources, is not especially original; the tangle of charges and countercharges regarding his administration are described but never conclusively resolved. However, for those unfamiliar with the Butler saga, he does offer an engagingly written survey. A brief description of Butler's prewar life is followed by topical chapters dealing with the general's army career prior to New Orleans, the capture of the city, and his troubles with the city's leaders, its foreign consuls, the civilian population, and charges stemming from cotton speculation and theft. He concludes with a brief consideration of Butler's post-New Orleans military career and postwar political activities. Hearn, primarily a military historian, is most confident in detailing Butler's lackluster military efforts. He is poorest in developing De Forest's observation that Butler acted like a politician. One wonders whether a chapter on Butler's relations with the partisan press and the factions within the Republican party both nationally and in Massachusetts might have clarified his motivations and behavior in New Orleans as well as the ways in which he (and his enemies) chose to explain his actions.

—Phyllis F. Field
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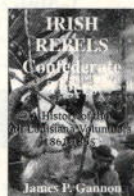


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John David Smith does an excellent job of telling the story of Reconstruction in the words of the people who lived through it. With original documents, the author presents the frustrations and aspirations of the newly freed slaves with a well-organized narrative.

- **WEARING OF THE GRAY: Being Personal Portraits, Scenes, and Adventures of the War**. By John Esten Cooke. Introduction by Emory M. Thomas (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997. Pp. xx, 572. Paper, \$19.95, ISBN 08071-2216-5. Originally published in 1867; reprinted in 1959.)

Though the author romanticizes the past, his literary ability combined with his personal perspective of such notables as J. E. B. Stuart, "Stonewall" Jackson, and nine other famous figures makes *Wearing of the Gray* one of the finest reminiscences associated with the Army of Northern Virginia.

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MEL YOUNG

The Sons of Abraham

IN PREVIOUS ISSUES of *North & South*, I recounted the stories of two sons of Abraham Jonas, an English born Jewish emigre who had settled first in Kentucky, then in Illinois. Abraham Jonas became a close personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and a staunch political supporter. In *N&S* #4, I related the story of Major Samuel Jonas, CSA, in the article *Story of a Poem: Lines on the Back of a Confederate Note*. My article *Parole of Honor* in *N&S* #5, related the story of another son of Abraham, Captain Charles Jonas, CSA. Although raised in Illinois, both brothers had migrated to New Orleans in the 1850s to live with their successful uncle, George Jonas. They chose to side with the Confederacy when the American Civil War began.

Still at home in Quincy, Illinois in 1861, was the youngest son, still a teenager, Edward Jonas. And, thus was set the stage for Abraham and Louisa Block Jonas to grieve that the time might come when brother fought brother.

This defied all the religious teachings of their Hebrew heritage, for they are taught through generations "I am my brother's Keeper." Nevertheless, as in the Bible Abraham offered up his only son remaining at home, to answer the call of President Lincoln.

In 1861, at the age of 17, Edward Jonas enlisted as a private in the "Quincy Cadets" which was to become a contingent of Company C, 50th Illinois Infantry, USA. The 50th Illinois saw initial service in North Missouri until the regiment was ordered to Tennessee. Military service in Missouri was from August 20, 1861 through December 1861, in the area of Chillicothe and St. Joe, Missouri. In Tennessee, Edward was detailed as orderly by Major General B.M. Prentiss, and at the Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862, was acting as an aide de camp when he was taken prisoner, along with the general. Ironically, yet another Confederate brother of Edward, private Julius Jonas, was part of the escort cavalry of

Confederate General Leonidas Polk, CSA, at the Battle of Shiloh. Private Edward Jonas, 50th Illinois, USA, was transported to the Confederate prison camp at Madison, Georgia. He remained a prisoner of war until exchanged in October, 1862 and was returned to his command.

He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant and was ordered to duty as aide de camp to Major General Prentiss.

From January 1862 to December 1864, Jonas served successively as an aide de camp to Prentiss, then to Major General Hulburt, then General



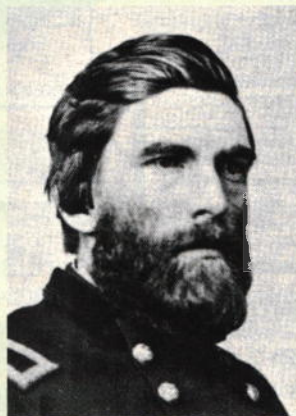
Mel Young, a graduate of West Point, is an accountant living in Chattanooga. He has two books on the Civil War to his credit, and is currently working on a book on the Jonas family.

And the Lord said unto Abraham: "Take now thy son, thine only son and offer him ..."

Genesis 22:2

Grenville Dodge. He participated in active operations in the Vicksburg Campaign of 1863 and in Tennessee in 1863-64, and from May, 1864, as part of Major General William Tecumseh Sherman's armies in the operations from Chattanooga to Atlanta. On the staff of Major General Dodge, Lieutenant Edward Jonas saw active combat in the Union drive to capture Atlanta. General Dodge mentions this service in his memoirs. It was also at this time that brother fought brother. In the opposing Confederate forces were Major Samuel Jonas, of the staff of

General Hood, CSA; brother Julius in General Polk's cavalry, CSA; and brother Benjamin, a sergeant in Fenner's Battery, CSA. Benjamin Jonas, an attorney would later serve in the mid 1870s as a United States Senator from Louisiana.



In December, 1864, General Dodge, a pre-Civil War railroad engineer on the western plains, was ordered west to take command of the Army and Department of Missouri in order to quell the Indian attacks on settlers and supply routes in the west. He offered Edward Jonas a position on his staff. Jonas accepted, and went west to fight the Indians. He was commissioned Captain, U.S. Volunteers in April 1865, and participated in

active campaigns against the hostiles.

Edward Jonas was mustered out of military service in the winter of 1866. He was breveted Major and Lieutenant Colonel for his wartime and postwar service. He died in New Orleans in 1918.

The story of the Jonas family is that of many families which, having settled in different parts of the country, found themselves on opposing sides when war broke out.

Left: Major General Grenville M. Dodge.
National Archives

The photo of 2nd Lieutenant Edward Jonas (opposite) and his parole record below: courtesy American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio

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NAME.	RANK	ORGANIZATION.				INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM—				
		No. of Reg't.	State.	Arm of Service.	Co.	Records of—	Vol.	Page.	Vol.	Page.
Jonas Edward	P. 2nd Lt.	50	Ills		"6"	C. R. D. Mis Records Mis Roll 875-	22	254		

Captured at Shiloh Tenn. April, 1862; confined at Richmond, Va., 1862.
 Dis. list of Prisoners of War at Madison Ga. Oct. 4/62. Captured from Rebel Records Dept.
 Admitted to Hospital at of S. Ga. and Fla. on file in Archiv Office A. G. O.
 where he died 1862, of Prot. from Madison Ga. reconf. at Rich. Dec 11/62
 Paroled at Arkens. Landing Oct. 12, 1862; reported at Camp Parole, Md., 1862.
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Apr 19- BKH - BKH - Dark. 5 ft 8 in. Gentleman -
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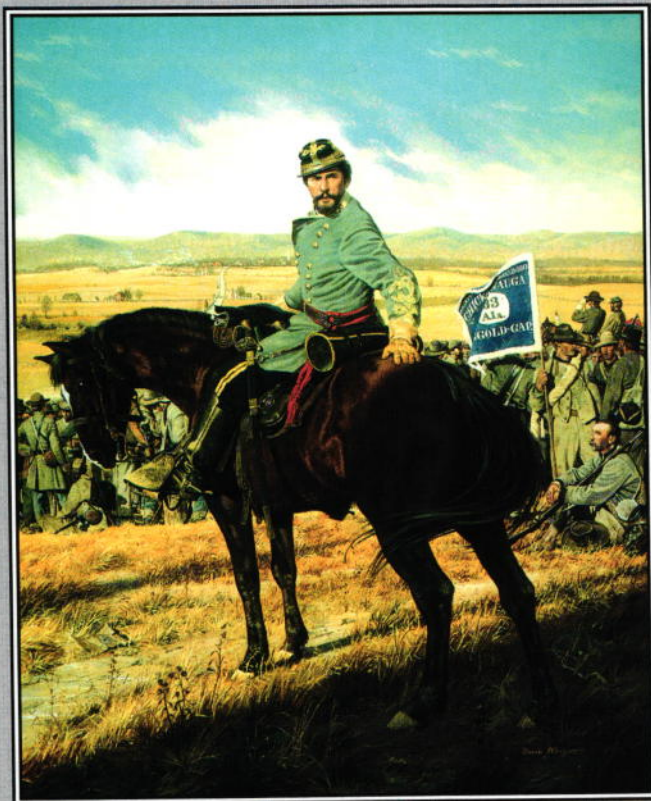
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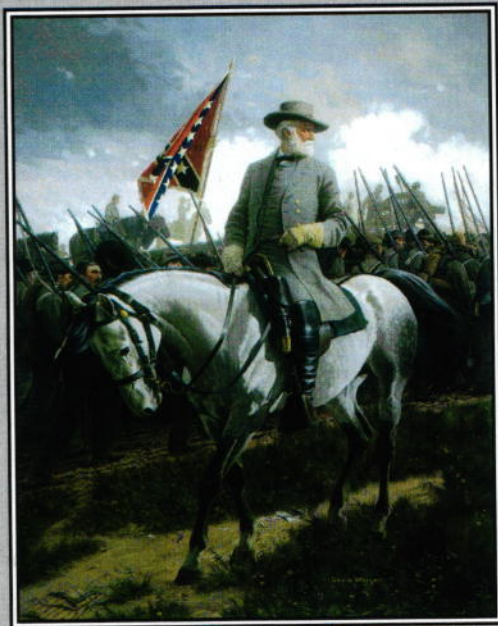


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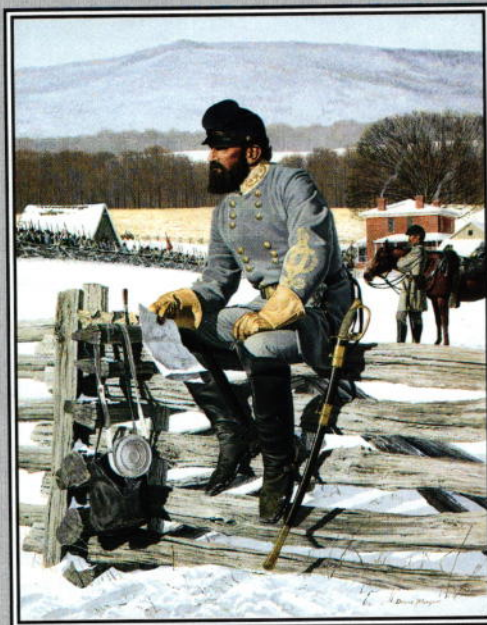


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